

THE THEOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION OF THE GREAT MISSIONARY AWAKENING
OF THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO WILLIAM CAREY

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PREFACE

The Christian Church, in the midst of the cataclysmic events of the modern world and in its meeting with the great non-Christian religions, is in urgent need of a clear understanding of its original motives for modern foreign missions and a return to the pristine enthusiasm for evangelism. But in this age of continual adjustment, with old foundations being shaken or subjected to drastic revision, it is sometimes difficult to see any connection with the past. Hence, an investigation of the theological factors that justified missionary action during the great awakening to missions will prove useful in gaining a clearer view of today's problems.

In meeting the present challenge to missions the Church must guard against losing its sense of continuity with the work of foregoing generations, for between the present and the past is the bridge of a changeless continuity, which makes history an essential part of mission study. God's call to missions goes out afresh in every new period of Church history; thus, it becomes necessary to put any inquiry into missionary theology against a historical background; otherwise, there is the danger of an abstract theological view that obscures the concrete and practical aspects of the problems under consideration as they appeared

during the awakening. Consequently, the subject of this dissertation will be presented within the framework of its historical setting.

The crisis of today calls for a return to the same fundamental question that confronted the first men of modern missions: Why have foreign missions? The answer to this question can be found in the reasons for and justification of missions as drawn from the sermons, speeches, debates, articles, and other writings of the men who instituted the missionary movement.

The word "justification" is used instead of apology because a well-constructed missionary apology did not develop during the awakening period, and when an apology did appear the original impulses for missions were already somewhat changed. Therefore, it seems more fitting to use justification in connection with the early formative period of missions.

The late eighteenth century has been chosen because it is in this period, especially the last decade of the century, that the awakening of the missionary ideal took definite form, making the world-wide nature of the Church a reality in the present generation. William Carey, as the founder of the movement, was largely responsible for determining the direction that the movement took in its earliest stages; for this reason special reference will be

made to his work and influence.

For the sake of clarity this dissertation is divided into two major parts, the first containing the historical background of the missionary awakening and the second presenting the theological justification in systematic form.

The spelling, punctuation, and grammar throughout, with the exception of direct quotations, follow standard American usage, i.e., the American spelling of inquire, civilized, Savior, toward, worshiped, etc., and the use of "were" following "if" in the subjunctive mood will be consistently employed.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Principal Emeritus John Baillie, Principal John H. S. Burleigh, Professor William S. Tindal, Principal Emeritus Hugh Watt, and Dr. Ernest A. Payne for their guidance and helpful suggestions. My appreciation is also due the Librarian and Staff of each of the following: the New College Library and the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; Dr. Williams' Library, London; the Bristol Baptist College Library, Bristol; Regent's Park College Library, Oxford; and the Baptist Theological Seminary Library, Rüschlikon-Zürich. I also acknowledge my deep gratitude to my wife, John C. Sims, and William Shinto for personal inspiration that has turned my thoughts in this direction.

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J. P. W.

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PART I

CHAPTER I

THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND RELIGIOUS FACTORS AT WORK IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

There have been some comparatively brief periods in the history of the world in which a number of great and significant events have occurred--periods when man has suddenly made great strides in many areas of his existence. The last half of the eighteenth century appears to be such a period as this. Revolutionary new trends in world politics, literature, philosophy, industry, exploration, economics, and religion were established with disturbing rapidity. And it was in the last decade of this century that a fresh chapter was opened in the story of mankind and the history of Christianity, for it was in this decade that the Church experienced an awakening to foreign missions. A careful look at the world situation and the background of the period will not only afford an excellent basis for understanding the modern missionary awakening and the generation which produced the father of this movement, William Carey, but will also provide adequate grounds for gaining an insight into the theological factors that justified missionary action.

This introductory chapter will focus attention on the

most important of these new forces at work in the late eighteenth century, which in various ways molded the thought of the men of missions and directly influenced them in the commencement of world evangelization. Four must here be mentioned. First, the French Revolution followed by the political and military aspirations of Napoleon. Secondly, the Industrial Revolution that added to already existing social abuses and led influential men to seek their remedy. Thirdly, the great era of global exploration popularized by the accounts of the voyages of Captain Cook.¹ Fourthly, the revival movements that became the immediate soil for foreign Protestant missions.

I. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

Long before the Paris mob stormed the Bastille, the American Revolution and its historic Declaration of Independence (1776) had spread ideas that led to modern conceptions of democracy. It was a matter of no small importance for the coming age that a vast new North American continent was offering boundless opportunities for change with its gospel of equality and liberty as the slogan of a victorious republic. "The American declaration of rights gave the cue to

¹Ernest A. Payne, The Church Awakes (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1942), p. 16.

every friend of liberty in the old world,"² wrote H. A. L. Fisher. What the Americans had gained by revolution, Europeans might also gain by the same daring method.³

The French Revolution, which broke out in 1789 with its watchwords of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, plunged the French people into the chaos of war and terror. It arose from criticism of an incompetent government that had brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy. Among the rising middle class and humble peasants alike there was seething discontent with social and economic conditions. At the root of this unrest were ideas that had been given form by such men as Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau, and others. Voltaire had bitterly ridiculed the evils of contemporary French life, and Rousseau had advocated rebellion because, as he said, man was born free and yet everywhere he was in chains.⁴

In November, 1790, Edmund Burke published his Reflections on the French Revolution, and Thomas Paine made his

²H. A. L. Fisher, A History of Europe (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1935), p. 791.

³Ibid.; Payne, loc. cit.; Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), pp. 1006-1007.

⁴F. Townley Lord, Achievement; A Short History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1942 (London: The Carey Press, 1942), p. 2; Latourette, op. cit., pp. 1007, 1010.

reply early the next year in The Rights of Man. The best of eighteenth century Whig tradition was to be found in Burke, who had given his life to many noble causes, but the radical pamphleteer, Paine, homely and crude as he was, represented the popular forces that were shaping the new world.⁵ However, as the Revolution intensified, the threat of foreign invasion and domestic insurrection stimulated the "reign of terror" (1793-1794), and the original lofty intentions were all but lost. At the height of the terror, a new religion was formally inaugurated. It should be noted that in the latter part of the eighteenth century a militant rationalism and Deism had something of a vogue in America and Europe. Thus, this new religion in true Deist fashion, as decreed by the National Convention, recognized the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul. Atheism, Christianity, vice, and folly were decried and the triumph of wisdom was celebrated.⁶

Neighboring governments were alarmed at this threat to their own positions, and they attempted to suppress the French Revolution by armed force. But the National Convention successfully resisted, and the wars began that were to culminate in Napoleon Bonaparte and his empire.

⁵Payne, op. cit., p. 27.

⁶Latourette, loc. cit.

From a religious point of view throughout this period Christianity in Britain suffered more than ever from the enervating influences of Rationalism and Deism, and from a political standpoint the increasing strength of Napoleon and the constant threat of his invasion made Britons anxious.⁷ In the series of cataclysmic events of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars that rocked the foundations of various European countries, some religious men believed they could discern the approach of the millennium or the imminent return of Christ and the end of the world.

In the preface to William Wilberforce's Practical View Daniel Wilson, later Bishop of Calcutta, gives a very revealing sketch of the "state of things" during this period:

The storm of the French Revolution still raging--an open renunciation of Christianity just made in a great nation--Europe rent asunder with war, which, after a duration of four or five years, seemed farther than ever from a close--the Church feeble, and full of apprehension--the ministers of the state, and the legislature, overwhelmed with schemes of defence abroad and regulation at home--the minds of thoughtful men portending calamities--untold difficulties thickening around.⁸

⁷Payne, op. cit., p. 22.

⁸William Wilberforce, A Practical View (seventh edition; London: T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, 1798), pp. xii-xiii.

II. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION WITH ITS ABUSES AND THE COUNTER MOVEMENT FOR UNIVERSAL BENEVOLENCE AND REFORM

In the very midst of what Paine referred to as these "times that try men's souls,"⁹ Britain was in the throes of still another conflict--the Industrial Revolution. It began in the earlier years of George III and was at its height during the twenty years of struggle against Napoleon. The lengthy and complex process known as the Industrial Revolution speedily revolutionized the life of Britain and other countries. Great Britain as the pioneer in this Revolution for a time held a near monopoly of its processes and of the commerce that arose from it, but before long it was so widespread that its influence was felt throughout the world.¹⁰

Until the middle of the eighteenth century the manner of daily living had changed very little in over a thousand years. But within twenty years of Watt's steam engine (1765), factories had come into being, and the machine era had begun its triumphant but frightening course. Soon canals and railroads marked the new departures in transportation. Capitalistic control, mass production, and a laboring class of people began to replace the old, simple, and

⁹Thomas Paine quoted by Payne, op. cit., p. 19.

¹⁰Payne, op. cit., pp. 16-17; Latourette, op. cit., pp. 1069, 1161.

more personal economy. At the same time the population was increasing rapidly; people were moving from villages to towns and from towns to industrial cities. Adjustment under these new conditions would have been difficult during peacetime, but many of these changes came while Napoleon was threatening the world.¹¹

Still more perplexing were the altered social conditions produced by the Industrial Revolution. As cities mushroomed the environment that shaped the lives of their inhabitants was changing. Huge fortunes were accumulated by the few, moderate comfort was achieved by a large urban middle class, the bourgeoisie; but for another large group, in many places the majority, the new industrial processes meant grinding toil, poverty, and moral and physical degradation. Mining, especially coal mining on which industry and commerce depended, gave rise to communities in which life was drab and working conditions hazardous. Factories brought aggregations of labor, usually in overcrowded tenements. At the outset labor was characterized by long hours, a lack of safeguards against disease and accident, no protection for women and children, and insecurity of employment. The port cities where the goods of industry were

¹¹Payne, op. cit., pp. 17-18; Latourette, op. cit., p. 1064.

shipped were no better. In Britain as in other countries poverty and squalor had long been present, but in the slums of mining, industrial, and commercial towns and cities they now reached unprecedented dimensions. They were all a part of the frightful price that Britain paid for her great wealth and power. Could Christianity win and retain a place in such a society as this, and could it ameliorate the lot of those who were caught up in its web?¹²

The Industrial Revolution brought numerous difficult and disturbing changes, many of which gave rise to much-needed reform. G. M. Trevelyan in his History of England described these years as "a seething cauldron of trouble," a "confused and desperate crisis."¹³ But he notes that even in the midst of war and drastic social change, "Britain's creative spirit . . . blossomed as in the age of Elizabeth. . . . The men of that day seemed to inhale vigour and genius with the island air."¹⁴ This era of Nelson and Wellington, of Fox and Pitt, of Cobbett and Wilberforce, was also the era of Wordsworth and Coleridge, of Byron and Scott, of Shelley and Keats, and many other outstanding figures. The

¹²Latourette, op. cit., pp. 1064-1065, 1161.

¹³George Macaulay Trevelyan, History of England (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1926), p. 508.

¹⁴Ibid.

very dangers of the times and the sweeping away of old familiar landmarks seemed to call forth new qualities in the human spirit. Few epochs have been richer in great and good men or in devotion to such noble causes. Indeed, of all the outstanding agencies for the uplift and betterment of mankind active in our own day, in almost every case their origin can be traced back to the exciting and perilous years of the French Revolution.¹⁵

Everything was in a state of flux. The well-established world of Samuel Johnson and Edmund Burke was clearly destined to disappear as its inadequacies and limitations became increasingly evident near the close of the eighteenth century. Yet, there were sufficient men, alert, adaptable, courageous, and unselfish, for these years to be among the most fruitful in all history, as far as what may be loosely described as humanitarianism was concerned.¹⁶ In spite of widespread evil and manifold abuses, this period in many ways may be called an era of benevolence.

There was little time to think or plan; even the most farseeing were hardly conscious of what was happening. Nevertheless, these were the years when the Christian conscience fought selfish exploitation with noteworthy success.

¹⁵Payne, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

¹⁶Trevelyan, op. cit., p. 507; Payne, op. cit., p. 19.

They were years of deepening concern for the unfortunate, the oppressed, and the exploited. Men's consciences were troubled, perhaps as never before, by suffering and ignorance.¹⁷ This was an age for freeing mankind from the bondage of slavery as movements against slavery and the slave trade were organized. This was the age of the Sunday school movement and movements for popular education; an age for the reformation of morals and manners; an age for revising penal laws and the improvement of penal institutions; an age for better treatment of the mentally sick; it was the age of the revival of religion and time to commence the evangelization of the world by means of the great missionary and Bible societies.¹⁸

III. THE VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN COOK THAT LED TO WIDESPREAD KNOWLEDGE OF THE VASTNESS OF THE WORLD AND OF ITS MOST REMOTE INHABITANTS

In an era of exploration a traceable and significant connection existed between mission work and world trends. The voyages of Captain Cook had set the foremost example of expansion in the last half of the eighteenth century. His exploits opened the vastness of the Australian continent and

¹⁷Payne, op. cit., p. 20.

¹⁸Cf. Payne, op. cit., p. 20.

the South Seas to British statesmen and the general public alike and fired their imaginations with his discoveries. Perhaps more important than his actual discoveries was the spirit with which Cook engaged in his enterprises and the impression this made upon the populace. Here were overseas possessions to take the place of the American colonies that were lost in the War of Independence.¹⁹ Here also was a wealth of information concerning the inhabitants of these vast areas. In reading of his travels one could hardly fail to recognize Cook's sincerely Christian estimation of the worth of all men. In 1781 William Cowper, the poet of the missionary awakening, wrote:

When Cook--lamented, and with tears as just
As ever mingled with heroic dust--
Steered Britain's oak into a world unknown,
And in his country's glory sought his own,
Wherever he found man, to nature true,
The rights of man were sacred in his view.²⁰

However, as J. Van Den Berg points out, the voyages of Cook afford a remarkable proof of the fact that British life in this period was secularized to a large degree.²¹ The expeditions of the sixteenth and early seventeenth

¹⁹Payne, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

²⁰William Benham (ed.), "Charity," The Poetical Works of William Cowper (London: Macmillan and Co., 1874), p. 117.

²¹Johannes Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love (Kampen: J. H. Kok N. V., 1956), p. 109.

centuries took their place within the framework of the corpus christianum, but religion played a very small part in the late eighteenth century expeditions to Oceania. The ship, Endeavour, with which Cook made his first voyage in 1768, did not even have a chaplain on board. One of the members of the expedition died during their stay at Tahiti, but the body was buried at sea because Cook did not want to offend the religious feelings of the Tahitians.²²

Captain Cook was no advocate of missions and personally was not even remotely responsible for the missionary awakening, but William Carey was greatly influenced by the published accounts of Cook's Voyages. It was here that he found much of the inspiration and information he needed in formulating his thoughts on missions. The voyages of Captain Cook, the reports of missionaries like David Brainerd, and the anti-slavery movement began to influence many devout Christians for the cause of idolatrous and exploited heathens of the world. Geographical exploration called for spiritual expansion. But this expansion was left to a comparatively small group of missionary evangelicals of late eighteenth century Britain who were prepared and answered the call.

²²J. A. Williamson, Cook and the Opening of the Pacific (London: 1946), pp. 114, 117, cited by Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 109.

IV. THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL AND THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

A great spiritual and philanthropic movement must be recognized as one of the outstanding features of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic period. In the midst of war and danger, along with profound social and economic changes, there came a religious quickening of the human spirit.²³

The whole movement was in striking contrast to the indifference and ineffectiveness of much of the religious life of the preceding period. G. M. Trevelyan referred to the eighteenth century as "the heyday of unchallenged abuses in all forms of corporate life."²⁴ Those in power in both Church and State began with opposition to almost all humanitarian movements. The attitude and tradition of Protestant churches with regard to foreign missions and social reform were unfavorable. Most men were as reluctant then as now to accept new ideas or embark upon new enterprises. Much of the difficulty lay in the fact that both the Established Church and dissenting groups suffered from a reaction following the strenuous conflicts of the seventeenth century. Rationalism infected men's minds and hearts. Enthusiasm had

²³Payne, op. cit., p. 20.

²⁴Trevelyan, History of England, p. 506.

become a reproach.²⁵

The eighteenth century was, indeed, the age of reason. In large segments of the Church the Christian message had become diluted by the influence of Rationalism and Deism. The trend was vividly seen in Halle, the major center of Pietism, which was so vitally related to the famous Danish-Halle Mission and through Count Zinzendorf also related to the Moravian Brotherhood. Here at Halle Rationalism cooled the missionary zeal of many and all but ruined the enterprises that were drawing recruits for the Mission.²⁶

In Britain the situation was similar. The Churches of England and Scotland, imbued with rationalistic tendencies, did organize societies, however, which were the forerunners of the modern missionary movement. Yet, noble as they were, these societies possessed rationalistic traits and were characterized by the sometimes naive belief that it was possible to spread the faith through the propagation of "Christian knowledge."²⁷

These rationalistic forces had helped create a

²⁵Payne, op. cit., pp. 20, 22-23.

²⁶Latourette, A History of Christianity, pp. 1005-1007.

²⁷Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 38.

general laxity in both clergy and laity. Boswell was said to have remarked to Wilberforce that Dr. Johnson, strong churchman as he was, said that he had never been acquainted with a single "religious clergyman."²⁸ Of course there were many, but when George III ascended the throne in 1760, really devout clergymen were far from constituting a majority.²⁹ The challenge to slavery, the organization of charity, and the sense of responsibility toward people of other races were things almost unknown till the closing years of the eighteenth century. They may be seen as part of the fruit of the great religious movement known as the Evangelical Revival. This movement of the Spirit of God in the second half of the eighteenth century expressed itself in a variety of ways. It gave new vitality to personal faith, rescuing men not only from gross sins but also from an arid intellectualism and a dead formality.³⁰

At the source of this revival of personal religion was Pietism. The Pietistic movement had set a noteworthy example to all Christians by confronting the deeper

²⁸James Boswell, cited by Payne, op. cit., p. 21.

²⁹Payne, op. cit., p. 21.

³⁰Ernest A. Payne, The Growth of the World Church (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1955), p. 67; Payne, The Church Awakes, p. 21.

questions of religion with a new spiritual energy. German Pietism, despite all its failures, may be credited with inspiring much of the revival and missionary spirit of the eighteenth century; for it was under the influence of Pietism through contact with the Moravians that John Wesley was converted in 1738.³¹ This religious experience proved decisive in bringing Methodism into being.³² The revival associated with the names of John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield, however, cannot be viewed as a reawakening of Pietism. Methodism was a new phenomenon that cannot be measured adequately by standards derived from any former period. Both Wesley and Whitefield were profoundly influenced by the Pietistic insistence on an experience of salvation and the necessity of finding peace with God through the meritorious work of Christ, but both of these men stood some distance from Hallensian Pietism or Moravianism.³³

Moravianism did contribute much to the fiery electrical force of Methodism, and wherever these evangelists spoke, indoors or in the open air, great crowds were attracted and revival followed closely upon their preaching.

³¹John Aberly, An Outline of Missions (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1945), pp. 59-60.

³²Latourette, A History of Christianity, pp. 1023-1029.

³³Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 73-75.

Their evangelism set ablaze the Midlands of England, the Lowlands of Scotland, and the rough frontier of New England.³⁴ The rise of Methodism in Britain and its spread in America filled a large part of the religious history of the eighteenth century and added greatly to the general revival of religion, which so directly influenced the missionary movement of the latter part of that century.

The Wesleys and Whitefield were the outstanding personalities of the revival, but it was a wider movement than that usually associated with their names. Though in the minority, there were strong Evangelical elements in both the Church of England³⁵ and the Church of Scotland,³⁶ which were very much alive and contemporary with these Methodists. There were also small but significant evangelical groups in the various dissenting bodies.³⁷ The Evangelical Revival must be thought of in this broadest possible sense if it is

³⁴Ibid., pp. 74-75.

³⁵Charles Hole, A Manual of English Church History (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910), pp. 378-383; Latourette, op. cit., p. 1030.

³⁶W. M. Hetherington, History of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1842), pp. 696-699.

³⁷Latourette, op. cit., p. 1029. In subsequent references to the specific Evangelical parties of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, the word "evangelical" will be capitalized; whereas, when used in a more general sense, it will appear as in the above sentence.

to be regarded as the source of the missionary awakening, or of the other philanthropic enterprises of the period. As far as missions was concerned, there were other influences at work. There were the examples of heroic, even if often ineffective, earlier missionary attempts and the stimulus that came from the Great Awakening through Jonathan Edwards in the American Colonies. This movement was parallel to that of the Methodists but earlier in origin.³⁸ Thus it was the general awakening of personal religion in America and Britain, and to a lesser extent on the Continent, that prepared the men who formed the great missionary societies and helped lead the Church on another crusade in the name of Christ.³⁹

The Romantic movement during this period was of much less significance than the revival movements, but was nevertheless a factor for consideration on the subject of missions. Romanticism is a term used to express an attitude in feeling and thought, which has been found in many peoples and has no chronologically fixed limits. In the eighteenth century it was to a large extent a reaction against

³⁸Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1946), Vol. III, pp. 29-30.

³⁹Payne, The Church Awakes, p. 22.

Rationalism. It was not necessarily anti-Christian; actually, some of its leading exponents were earnestly Christian. Several, however, cannot be put in this category. Prominent among the latter was Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose writings enjoyed a wide popularity⁴⁰ and had direct bearing on missions.

The romantic stimulus given to the missionary awakening involved newly discovered peoples and places, which were seen under the most romantic and fascinating aspects. The "noble savage" of Rousseau received new momentum from the accounts of the voyages of Captain Cook and to a lesser extent those of Captain Wilson in the Pacific. J. Hawkesworth, a great admirer of Rousseau's world of thought, "pictured the natives as the sum of all earthly charm and beauty."⁴¹ Hawkesworth's writings contributed to the rise of the romantic view of the population of Oceania and were directly connected with the influence Rousseau began to exercise in England.⁴²

In a period that witnessed the rise of Romanticism,

⁴⁰Latourette, A History of Christianity, pp. 1005-1006.

⁴¹Louis B. Wright, Religion and Empire (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1943), pp. 160-161.

⁴²Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 97-98, 106, 109-110.

the lack of romantic motives in the missionary awakening would be more remarkable than their presence. Carey, the pioneer of modern British missions, had read with a more than ordinary interest the accounts of the South Sea voyages. They attracted his attention because he, no doubt, had been influenced by the romantic spirit that was abroad in the land. Partly through them his eyes had been opened to the problems and needs of the wider world.⁴³ Perhaps without a certain disposition for romance and adventure Carey might never have become the man whom history honors as a missionary leader of broad vision and admirable courage. However, it would be incorrect to picture him as a romantic dreamer. His clear, sober judgment guarded him against an unrealistic view of the heathen world and kept him from falling into the errors of either a too bright or a too dim view of the situation of the world in "heathen darkness."⁴⁴ It was true, the first efforts of the London Missionary Society were accompanied by an unrealistic Romanticism, and many of their early failures in the South Seas may be partially attributed to this. A certain amount of Romanticism

⁴³S. Pearce Carey, William Carey (London: Hodder and Stoughton, [n.d.]), pp. 42-43.

⁴⁴William Carey, An Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens (Leicester: Ann Ireland Booksellers, 1792), p. 62.

was present in the great wave of enthusiasm associated with the first activities of the London Society and those of other societies as well, but it would be quite wrong, indeed, to see this as a major factor behind the missionary awakening. These missionary evangelicals did not live in isolation but knew how to transform their share in the spirit of the times into positive gain. Even from the start romantic enthusiasm seldomly took precedence over sound judgment in their missionary undertaking.⁴⁵

Romanticism has been presented in connection with the Evangelical Revival in order to draw attention to the fact that it was Evangelicalism rather than Romanticism that exerted the predominant force in the awakening to missions and the development of the missionary movement.

In conclusion, the question must be asked: Why did the missionary awakening occur at this particular time in the history of Christianity and not at some other time? This introductory chapter was designed to supply the answer. The missionary awakening of the late eighteenth century came at that time primarily as a result of these various factors which were at work in that century. It was a combination of all these forces in the world, in European society, and in the Church, acting upon the mind and life and at last

⁴⁵Van Den Berg, op. cit., pp. 153-155.

issuing in the personal example of William Carey. This one factor must be considered of inestimable worth in answer to this question and in any explanation of the missionary awakening.

CHAPTER II

THE MISSIONARY AWAKENING AND THE RISE OF SOCIETIES

The great break-through of the missionary idea constituted one of the most important periods in the history of the modern missionary movement. In the few years between 1792 and the early nineteenth century, missionary societies sprang into being, representing the first solid foundation of a movement that has made the world-wide nature of the Church a reality in this generation.¹ A complexity of factors co-operated in bringing to life the long repressed idea of missions. Those of a general nature have been presented in the previous chapter, and now the more specific factors involved remain to be considered. The history of the men from whom this missionary endeavor arose must be significant to those who are of the body of Christ. Such a history will provide the immediate framework for investigating the theological thought that justified their missionary action.

These men form an interesting group, drawn from widely separated ranks of society. Some were Nonconformists; some were members of the Church of England and others

¹Ernest A. Payne, The Church Awakes (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1942), p. 25.

were of the Church of Scotland; some were even Quakers. The generous help they gave each other was one of the most revealing things about them. Though they were men of strong convictions, they were nevertheless men of broad sympathies. Before long the example of the English Baptists was copied in London, throughout Scotland, on the Continent of Europe, as well as in America. The men who originated these societies were instrumental in bringing their churches to a new consciousness of the missionary task; they published a number of writings to stimulate missionary interest; they started several missionary ventures in heathen lands; and thus, they gave the missionary ideal such a new impetus that their influence was felt during the whole of what K. S. Latourette called "the great century"² of missions. Ministers and clergymen had the largest part in what was done, but considering the times, the lay leadership was more notable. As E. A. Payne pointed out this was not a professional movement, nor was it motivated by a narrow fanaticism.³ The men of missions possessed the ability to see life as a whole; in facing the uncertainties of the times they saw a new order emerging out of the general unrest and

²Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), pp. 1060 ff.

³Payne, op. cit., p. 23.

desired to bring the mind of Christ to bear upon every changing phase of life and upon every individual of even remote areas of the world.

I. THE FORERUNNERS OF THE MODERN MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

The awakening to missions was from a long sleep of indifference. Ideas that had fettered the Christian conscience for generations had to be thrown off. A certain break with the past was necessary, but the promoters of the new societies made frequent reference to earlier missionary personalities and enterprises from which they drew much of their inspiration.

The majority of the missions from A.D. 1500 to A.D. 1800 were instituted by the Roman Catholics, who were far more active than Protestants in the propagation of Christianity.⁴ Perhaps the most influential of all Catholic

⁴There were at least six reasons for this: 1. Soon after the Reformation Protestantism was largely engrossed in making a place for itself against Roman Catholicism. 2. Several of the early leaders of Protestantism denied any obligation to carry the Christian message to non-Christians. 3. They were preoccupied with the wars resulting from the Reformation. 4. Protestant governments were indifferent to spreading the Christian message among non-Christians. 5. Protestants were without the religious orders that had functioned as the agents for spreading the faith. 6. Protestant countries had less contact with the non-Christian peoples of the world. Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1940), Vol. III, pp. 25-26.

missionaries was Francis Xavier, "the one missionary of the Roman Church whom all Christendom honours."⁵ Xavier, along with six others under the leadership of Ignatius Loyola, began the Society of Jesus (1534), and seven years later he was sent by his leader to India. In this area of the world, during the remaining ten years of his life, he crowded the extensive missionary journeyings that brought him enduring fame. His intense devotion to the cause of Christ caught the imagination of the sixteenth century and remained an inspiration up to the time of and following the missionary awakening.⁶ Another Roman Catholic influence in the development of the missionary ideal was the Société des Missions Étrangères (1663), founded at Paris. This new instrument blazed trails in organization, being purely for the purpose of furthering missions. Earlier Catholic groups that had engaged in propagating the faith, such as the Jesuits, the Benedictines, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans, had divided their energies between this and other objectives. While Protestants still remained largely indifferent to their missionary obligation, many religious orders were taking up the work, occupying a large field of service, in

⁵Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), Vol. I, p. 17.

⁶Payne, op. cit., pp. 79-82.

the days when the Jesuits boasted "nulla regio terrae quae non plena nostrae laboris."⁷

In the seventeenth century the Pietist movement began in Germany and became the channel through which issued the efforts to carry the Christian faith around the world. It was this Pietism at Halle that gave the missionary impulse and the workers for the Danish-Halle Mission, thus producing such eminent missionary personalities as Ziegenbalg, Plütschau, and Schwartz.⁸ From this same source of inspiration, through Count Zinzendorf, the Moravian Brotherhood became the pioneer missionary church of modern times. As "missionary-settlers"⁹ the Moravians never desired to bring all other Christians into their church; they wished only to be a leavening and transforming influence, and as such, their effect was felt throughout the world.¹⁰ During this century John Eliot, a graduate of Cambridge, having received

⁷Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson, The Expansion of Christendom (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914), p. 96.

⁸William Owen Carver, The Course of Christian Missions (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1939), pp. 108-109; Latourette, A History of Christianity, pp. 932-933.

⁹Payne, op. cit., pp. 96.

¹⁰Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. III, p. 48; William Owen Carver, Missions and Modern Thought (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910), p. 68.

his education under the influence of Puritans, emigrated to America. Following half a century of devoted service among the Massachusetts tribes, he was rightly honored as the "Apostle to the Indians."¹¹ Almost all of Eliot's work was swept away by the wars between the Indians and colonists, but the knowledge of what he had done remained to challenge subsequent generations.

In the closing year of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth century, there emerged three new Protestant missionary agencies in Britain. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge came into existence in March, 1699, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded in 1701. Both agencies recruited members and gathered funds from communicants of the Church of England. Then in 1709 a society was formed in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. These were turn-of-the-century milestones.¹² Chaplains of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel took up the work of Eliot and made many attempts to evangelize the Indian tribes. But the history of the conversion of the

¹¹Cf. Ernest A. Payne, The Growth of the World Church (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1955), pp. 21 ff.

¹²Latourette, A History of Christianity, pp. 829, 955-956, 1032-1033; Payne, The Church Awakes, pp. 86-91.

American Indians in the eighteenth century was not so much associated with these chaplains as with another single individual, David Brainerd, who was supported by the Scottish society. Brainerd's influence was wide and intense, and though his years of service were very few and ended in his death at the age of twenty-nine, he was more contemporary than Eliot and therefore, a more significant example for the missionary awakening. Perhaps even more important than his work among the Indians was his friendship with Jonathan Edwards, who was responsible for publishing Brainerd's Diary and Journal, revealing his day-by-day activities and his intimate spiritual strivings in a way that spoke powerfully to the evangelicals of the awakening.¹³

It was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that in 1735 sent John Wesley to Georgia; he was then intending to give his life to the evangelization of the American Indians, but upon returning to England he experienced a change of heart, and in the fifty years that followed, he was all Britain's evangelist. And though he took the world as his parish, it was Thomas Coke who became the great missionary Methodist of the eighteenth century. In 1776 Coke met Wesley, and the two were quickly drawn into an

¹³Payne, The Church Awakes, p. 84; Carver, The Course of Christian Missions, p. 112.

intimate friendship. Under Wesley's influence he became a Methodist and in 1784 was ordained as a General Superintendent for America. That same year he also projected the idea of a Society for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathen, and had his plan been adopted, it would have been the earliest of the Protestant societies formed specifically for the purpose of missions; however, no such action was taken by the Methodists until 1813-1818. On his way to America in 1786 the ship was driven off course and Christmas day landed at Antigua; from then on Coke became an enthusiastic missionary, working ceaselessly among the negroes of the West Indies.¹⁴ In the meantime Wesley began to assume a critical attitude toward Coke, and consequently gave him little support for his missionary schemes. "The Doctor is often too hasty," remarked Wesley in 1788; "he does not maturely consider all circumstances."¹⁵ A year later the old Methodist leader wrote: ". . . Ought we to suffer Dr. Coke to pick out one after another the choicest of our young preachers?"¹⁶ Wesley agreed with Coke's missionary principle but his tempo was much too fast for Wesley.

¹⁴Payne, The Growth of the World Church, pp. 40-43.

¹⁵John Telford (ed.), The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. (standard edition; London: The Epworth Press, 1931), Vol. VIII, p. 101.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 129.

Although Coke's mission work was well under way by the end of the eighteenth century, the situation was much like Melville Horne saw it when he wrote: "Those missions may be considered as his missions, rather than those of the Methodists."¹⁷ For this reason, because he received no official help with his missions from the Methodists until the early nineteenth century, and because the Methodist Missionary Society was not founded till after the death of Coke, he seems best placed among the notable forerunners.¹⁸

Xavier, the Germans from Halle, the Moravians, Eliot, the English chaplains, Brainerd, and Coke were few in number and of widely varied traditions, yet each had a vital share in the preparation of a new era of Christian expansion.¹⁹

II. THE PRAYER MOVEMENT ON TWO CONTINENTS

The fascinating prayer movement from the mid- to the late eighteenth century was another vital factor in the awakening to missions. In 1784, at a periodical meeting of the Northamptonshire Association of Baptist Ministers being

¹⁷Melville Horne, Letters on Missions (Andover: Flagg and Gould, 1815), p. 193.

¹⁸Payne, The Church Awakes, p. 100; William Moister, A History of Wesleyan Missions (second edition; London: Elliot Stock, 1871), p. 465.

¹⁹Payne, The Church Awakes, p. 103.

held at Nottingham, John Sutcliff, one of the founders of the Baptist Missionary Society, made a motion that prayer meetings be organized for promoting the revival of religion. His motion immediately carried, and the Call to Prayer was soon circulated among the Associate Baptist Churches.²⁰ Many years of preparation had preceded the prayer call of these Midland Baptists. They had been directly challenged by the revival of personal religion in the New England churches, commonly called the Great Awakening. More specifically, they had followed the example of Jonathan Edwards, the key figure of this revival, in his powerful plea for prayer entitled An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion, and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth.²¹

The interest of the Northamptonshire group in Edwards

²⁰George Smith, Short History of Christian Missions (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897), pp. 158-159.

²¹John Foster, "The Bicentenary of Jonathan Edwards' 'Humble Attempt,'" The International Review of Missions (London: Edinburgh House, 1948), Vol. 37, p. 380; Ernest A. Payne, "Evangelism in its World Setting," The Congregational Quarterly (London: Independent Press Limited, October, 1948), Vol. XXVI, No. 4, pp. 317-318; John Foster, "A Scottish Contributor to the Missionary Awakening: Robert Millar of Paisley," The International Review of Missions (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), Vol. 37, p. 142.

was fed, and perhaps to a large extent kindled, by a Scot-- Dr. John Erskine of Edinburgh.²² Erskine's relationship with Edwards dates back to the former's student days at the time of the famous Cambuslang Revival (1742).²³ Young George Whitefield, having recently returned from America,²⁴ arrived in Scotland on his first visit shortly after the revival at Cambuslang had begun and vigorously stimulated its growth. Erskine's interest in evangelism soon led him to investigate the revival, which in turn resulted in his friendship with Whitefield. Not a few Church of Scotland ministers objected to Whitefield's methods, but Erskine was attracted by his evangelical Calvinism and soon became his champion. Whitefield was profoundly impressed during his travels in America, where he first met Jonathan Edwards and heard and saw something of the beginnings of the Great Awakening. Whitefield had evidently shared this formative experience with Erskine, who also became deeply interested in Edwards. However, it was not Whitefield who encouraged

²²E. A. Payne, "The Evangelical Revival and the Beginnings of the Modern Missionary Movement," The Congregational Quarterly, ed. Albert Peel (London: Independent Press Limited, July, 1943), Vol. XXI, No. 3, p. 228.

²³Ibid., p. 229; W. M. Hetherington, History of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1842), pp. 650-655.

²⁴Payne, "The Evangelical Revival and the Beginnings of the Modern Missionary Movement," p. 234.

Erskine to correspond with Edwards, but rather Erskine's friend, John MacLaurin of Glasgow.²⁵ Thus, a friendship was established between Erskine and Edwards that lasted till Edwards' death and remained an active force kept alive by Erskine for the rest of that century.

How Erskine came into contact with the Northamptonshire Baptists is not quite clear, but he carried on a frequent correspondence with John Ryland, another founder of the Baptist Missionary Society, from 1780 until Erskine's death in 1803.²⁶ From the beginning of their correspondence it was Erskine's habit to send parcels of books to Ryland, who was then a young Midland Baptist minister. In one of these bundles was a volume of Dutch sermons, which gave Ryland an opportunity for testing William Carey's remarkable linguistic ability.²⁷ Then in April, 1784, in one of these packages Erskine enclosed a copy of Edwards' Humble Attempt . . . , containing his plea for concerted prayer. Ryland passed this volume on to Sutcliff, and it led the latter to

²⁵Ibid., pp. 229-230, 234-235.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 229-230; Foster, "The Bicentenary of Jonathan Edwards' 'Humble Attempt,'" p. 381.

²⁷Carey had taught himself the language from a Dutch quarto found in an old woman's house; thus, he was able to translate the sermons. George Smith, The Life of William Carey, Shoemaker & Missionary (Everyman's Library edition; London: J. M. Dent & Co., [n.d.]), pp. 17-18.

initiate the now famous Call to Prayer of 1784. Throughout his long life Erskine maintained many contacts and a vast correspondence in Britain and other countries as well, but he could have little imagined what would follow the sending of this book to the Baptists of Northamptonshire.²⁸

The early movement that was connected most directly with this Baptist prayer call began in Scotland. In October, 1744, several Scottish ministers, under the influence of the Cambuslang Revival and at the suggestion of Whitefield, united in prayer for the two years following. With no formal organization or printed appeal, this movement spread from Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dundee to many parts of Scotland. At the end of the two years, which the promoters regarded as an experiment, a report on the subject was printed. Edwards had been in correspondence with William MacCulloch, the minister of the Cambuslang parish, since the commencement of the revival,²⁹ and either through MacCulloch or one of the other ministers involved, Edwards received copies of this report, which inspired the writing of his book, An Humble Attempt In this work he

²⁸Payne, "The Evangelical Revival and the Beginnings of the Modern Missionary Movement," p. 229; Smith, The Life of William Carey, Shoemaker & Missionary, p. 32.

²⁹Foster, "A Scottish Contributor to the Missionary Awakening: Robert Millar of Paisley," p. 142.

referred not only to the 1744 Scottish plan but to similar schemes in England in 1712 and others in Scotland in 1732 and 1735. His proposal was for seven years of united prayer for the revival of religion.³⁰

Thus it was that Scotland in 1744 had prophesied of the conversion of the heathen, urging prayer as the first means of its accomplishment. Again from Scotland in 1784, through John Erskine of the historic Greyfriars Church, the attention of the Northamptonshire Baptists was drawn to the writings of Edwards, and particularly to his work on prayer, which resulted in Baptist prayer meetings being held the first Monday evening of each month.³¹ These meetings were directly related to the Baptist concern for the revival of religion not only at home but around the world, consequently leading them to undertake a mission to the heathen.

Hence, the torch was passed from Scotland to America and from America to Northamptonshire. From Northamptonshire it spread to distant parts of the world.³²

³⁰Smith, The Life of William Carey, Shoemaker & Missionary, pp. 31-32.

³¹Ibid., p. 32.

³²Carver, Missions and Modern Thought, pp. 69-70; Payne, The Church Awakes, p. 49; George Smith, The Life of William Carey, D.D. (London: John Murray, 1885), p. 44; S. Pearce Carey, William Carey (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923), p. 11; Ernest A. Payne, "The Prayer Call of

The Northampton Association meeting at Nottingham, June 3, 1784, set forth its resolutions concerning prayer. Christians were urged to consider: Christ's readiness to hear and answer prayer; what He had done in times past in response to prayer; the present religious state of the world; and the promises of God to His Church in times to come. It was believed that these considerations would lead Christians to offer prayer in behalf of their fellow men.³³ In the Northampton Circular Letter (1785), Sutcliff stated the object of this prayer as he saw it:

The grand object in prayer is to be that the Holy Spirit may be poured down on our ministers and churches, that sinners may be converted, the saints edified, the interest of religion revived, and the name of God glorified. At the same time, remember, we trust you will not confine your requests to your own societies; or to your own immediate connection; let the whole interest of the Redeemer be affectionately remembered, and the spread of the Gospel to the most distant parts of the habitable globe be the object of your most fervent requests.³⁴

It was probably these prayer meetings, as much as any other single factor, which prepared this small group of ministers to venture upon the formation of a missionary

1784," Baptist Missionary Society Ter-Jubilee Celebrations 1942-4 (Oxford: Alden Press, 1945), p. 29; F. Townley Lord, Achievement; A Short History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1942 (London: The Carey Press, 1942), p. 8.

³³Payne, "The Prayer Call of 1784," p. 20.

³⁴Ibid., p. 21; vide Foster, "The Bicentenary of Jonathan Edwards' 'Humble Attempt,'" p. 381.

society.³⁵ It was not surprising that "the men who prayed for the heathen were called to work for them."³⁶

The prayer movement was of decisive importance in molding the lives of these English Baptists, especially the life of William Carey, and bore a close relationship not only to the founding of the Baptist Missionary Society, but also to the other great missionary societies of the awakening. The Baptists' prayer call influenced Independents in the Midlands to form similar prayer groups, which lay at the foundations of the London Missionary Society. However, it is not only the birth of one or two societies that we discover here, but rather the whole beginning of the amazing progress of the missionary movement of the last one hundred and fifty years.³⁷

III. THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA AMONG BAPTISTS

William Carey, whose name is inseparably connected with the beginning of foreign Protestant missions, has

³⁵Payne, "The Evangelical Revival and the Beginnings of the Modern Missionary Movement," p. 236.

³⁶John Brown Myers (ed.), The Centenary Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1892 (London: Alexander and Shephard, 1892), p. 6.

³⁷Foster, "The Bicentenary of Jonathan Edwards' 'Humble Attempt,'" p. 381; Payne, "Evangelism in its World Setting," pp. 317-318.

justly been called the father of modern missions. His career constituted an epoch that brought about a veritable revolution in missionary planning and thinking. Carey was born on August 17, 1761, in the Northamptonshire hamlet of Paulerspury, the son of the village schoolmaster and parish clerk. He was of the Midlands of England, the heart of that district which had produced men such as Shakespeare, Wyclif, and Bunyan, and was in the eighteenth century the home of such key missionary figures as Philip Doddridge, John Newton, Thomas Scott, and William Cowper, the poet of missions.³⁸

As a lad Carey had wished to be a gardener but circumstances of health led him to shoemaking. When he was seventeen he was converted and left the parish church and joined the dissenting chapel. Before long he also became a preacher and at length settled in the village of Moulton where he became pastor of the Baptist Church; however, poverty forced him also to continue his trade as a cobbler. The responsibilities of an increasing family and his own studious inclinations led him to open a small school in addition to his other duties.³⁹

³⁸Smith, The Life of William Carey, Shoemaker & Missionary, pp. 1-3.

³⁹Payne, The Growth of the World Church, p. 44.

Carey's conviction about the missionary obligation resting upon Christians can be traced to the year of his baptism at the age of twenty-two,⁴⁰ or perhaps even before that event to the very beginning of personal faith in his heart. He felt that he must share his understanding of the way of Christ with his own family and with all who would listen to him in the neighboring villages. His interest in the world around him was extended and deepened by an uncle, Peter, who was a sailor and adventurer and had at one time fought in Canada. Interesting stories of Uncle Peter's exploits fired young Carey's imagination.⁴¹ His geographic curiosity was also greatly stimulated by reading the accounts of the voyages of Captain Cook.⁴²

Thoughts concerning the inhabitants of far away places were occupying his mind when in 1784 Jonathan Edwards' proposal for a concert of prayer "for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom upon earth"⁴³ was adopted by the group of English Baptists to which Carey belonged. The more he reflected upon the necessity of prayer in furthering

⁴⁰Smith, The Life of William Carey, D.D., p. 12.

⁴¹Carver, The Course of Christian Missions, p. 139.

⁴²Smith, The Life of William Carey, Shoemaker & Missionary, pp. 5, 40.

⁴³Carver, The Course of Christian Missions, p. 139.

Christ's kingdom, and how very far His kingdom could then be advanced following intensive explorations, the more he was led to the position that nothing of any consequence would be established in the heathen world by might, or authority, or even eloquence. Carey was persuaded that any successful mission work would become effectual in answer to "fervent and united prayer."⁴⁴ He turned first to the Bible in looking for examples of Christian missions and found in the Scriptures the unfolding of God's world-mission plan. To him the Old Testament, especially the latter part of Isaiah, was missionary prophecy, and the New Testament was missionary adventure and achievement crowned by the example of the Apostle Paul.⁴⁵ Carey's active mind became busily employed in constant study. Church history revealed to him how apostate the lifeless Church of his day had become⁴⁶ and how inadequately the commands of Christ were being fulfilled. Yet down through the centuries Carey found many noble examples of Christians attempting to act upon the commission

⁴⁴William Carey, An Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens (Leicester: Ann Ireland Booksellers, 1792), p. 77; vide p. 79, where Carey states: "I trust our monthly prayer-meetings for the success of the gospel have not been in vain."

⁴⁵S. Pearce Carey, William Carey, pp. 51-52.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 52.

given by Christ to His disciples.⁴⁷ Outstanding personalities who came to Carey's attention were Xavier, Eliot, Ziegenbalg, Zinzendorf and his Moravians, and especially David Brainerd.⁴⁸ Edwards' edition of Brainerd's Diary had already reached Carey and had become such an inspiration that John Ryland described it as "almost a second Bible to him."⁴⁹

Certainly Carey was influenced by the humanitarian sentiment that was producing the French Revolution and manifold social reforms, but the springs of the missionary movement were other than Romanticism or humanitarianism.⁵⁰ Carey's great fortune lay in being borne along by the impact of the Wesleys and Whitefield. Almost to the end of Carey's English years, as well as a score before his birth, John Wesley was one of Britain's most noted evangelists. Carey had probably heard Wesley preach at Whittlebury, but nearer home and perhaps more important, Carey had come under the influence of John Newton through his contact with Thomas

⁴⁷Vide Section II, the historical review in Carey's Enquiry..., pp. 14-37.

⁴⁸W. Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 69, 70-71, 87.

⁴⁹John Ryland, cited by Payne, The Church Awakes, p. 85.

⁵⁰Payne, The Church Awakes, pp. 29-30; Arthur Dakin, William Carey Shoemaker, Linguist, Missionary (London: The Carey Press, 1942), p. 24.

Scott, who was at that time curate in Carey's neighborhood. In writing to Ryland many years later, Carey spoke of Scott and said: "If there be anything of the work of God in my soul, I owe much of it to his preaching."⁵¹ He doubtless knew something of the Evangelical Revival but it was the American Great Awakening that made more of an impression on him; however, Carey's own independent mind was largely responsible for working out his slow but sure conclusions.⁵² His world-wide outlook coincided with the new Evangelicalism of his period; his cultural interest was made subservient to his religious ideals with the result that missions in Carey's thought had a firm foundation from the very start.

Carey was indeed the pioneer who blazed the trail for a new form of missionary activity, yet it would be incorrect to view him, even in his own circle, as an isolated figure. When he became a Baptist pastor in the Northamptonshire Association he had three advantages: the fellowship of a growing association; the comradeship of men who meant much to him even though all of them did not share his missionary vision; and the existence of a literary apologia for evangelism. Carey's missionary emphasis followed logically upon the evangelical writings of Robert Hall and Andrew Fuller,

⁵¹Smith, The Life of William Carey, D.D., p. 15.

⁵²Payne, The Church Awakes, pp. 30-31.

adding the final argument and carrying them to their fulfillment.⁵³

It was significant that early in his career Carey had come in contact with a group of prominent Baptist ministers. Those who became his closest friends were John Ryland, Samuel Pearce, John Sutcliff, and the notable Andrew Fuller. Of the four Fuller played the most vital role as far as missionary theology was concerned--"He was," according to Ryland, "the most judicious and able theological writer that ever belonged to the Baptist denomination."⁵⁴

Fuller was from Wicken in Cambridgeshire and had joined the church at Soham when he was about sixteen. In 1775 at the age of twenty-one, because of rather unusual circumstances, he was called to be its minister. Seven years later he moved to the church at Kettering where he remained for the rest of his life. During his first pastorate at Soham, his mind had rebelled against the rigidity of extreme hyper-Calvinism. Both Carey and Fuller were influenced by the evangelical tendencies of Robert Hall's book, Help to Zion's Travellers,⁵⁵ but Fuller had been greatly

⁵³Lord, Achievement; A Short History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1942, p. 8.

⁵⁴Ernest A. Payne, The First Generation (London: Carey Press, 1936), p. 25.

⁵⁵S. P. Carey, William Carey, p. 34.

swayed by the evangelical Calvinism of Jonathan Edwards, which led him in 1784 to publish his Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation, exploding the rigid dogmatism of his day and opening the way for a new evangelism to the ends of the earth. This work of Fuller's, which drew heavily upon the writings of Edwards, made a deep impression on Carey. From the beginning of their friendship Carey and Fuller had shared the same theological views. The intimate union between them was established at Northampton when Carey was unexpectedly requested to preach at a meeting of ministers. On descending from the pulpit, Fuller, "seizing him by the hand, expressed the pleasure he felt in finding that their sentiments so closely corresponded."⁵⁶ It was largely this coincidence of theological viewpoints that later gave rise to the missionary awakening as it came first among the Baptists. Fuller distinguished himself in extensive controversial activity, which led to his being called "the morning-star of modern Calvinism."⁵⁷

⁵⁶Eustace Carey, Memoir of William Carey, D.D. (London: Jackson and Walford, 1837), pp. 52-53; John Clark Marshman, The Story of Carey, Marshman, & Ward (London: Alexander Strahan & Co., 1864), p. 7.

⁵⁷Lord, Achievement; A Short History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1942, p. 7; G. Winfred Hervey, The Story of Baptist Missions in Foreign Lands (St. Louis: Chancy R. Barns, 1884), p. 2; vide Gilbert Laws, Andrew Fuller Pastor, Theologian, Ropeholder (London: The Carey Press, 1942), passim.

Though not as significant as Fuller, John Ryland nevertheless exerted an important influence upon the life of Carey and was a staunch supporter of missions. Ryland, the second secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, succeeded Fuller and officiated from 1816 to 1825. For many years he had assisted his father, John Collett Ryland, in his school and church at Northampton, but in 1793 Ryland became the minister of Broadmead Chapel at Bristol and also president of the Bristol Baptist College.⁵⁸ Samuel Pearce of Plymouth had been a student at the college only several years before Ryland's appointment, but he had since accepted a call from the Cannon Street Baptist Church, Birmingham, where he labored till his death in 1797. Had it not been for poor health Pearce might well have been Carey's companion to the mission field, so deep was his conviction concerning missions and so powerful was Carey's influence on him.⁵⁹ John Sutcliff, minister of Olney, was the one responsible for bringing Edwards' thoughts on prayer to fulfillment among the Northamptonshire Baptists. Because of Sutcliff's action Carey came to see the importance of prayer

⁵⁸Vide James Culross, The Three Rylands (London: Elliot Stock, 1897), passim.

⁵⁹S. Pearce Carey, Samuel Pearce, M.A., The Baptist Brainerd (London: The Carey Press, /1913/), pp. 126-128, 146.

in the essentially spiritual task of missions as well as revival. It had been Sutcliff, together with Ryland, Fuller, and Thomas Potts (later a deacon at the Cannon Street Church), who urged Carey to set down his thoughts on missions. This was the first definite encouragement Carey had received and resulted in the writing of his now famous Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens in 1786, but which remained unpublished until the beginning of the year 1792.

Very early in this period Fuller, Ryland, and Sutcliff were perplexed about the path of duty, but Carey, having read practically nothing on Christian doctrine other than the Bible, had formed his own system.⁶⁰ To many of his ministerial brethren Carey's views seemed not only wildly visionary, but in direct conflict with the doctrine of God's sovereignty. The conversion of the heathen was earnestly prayed for, but to attempt it seemed like a profane outstretching of the hand to help the ark of God.⁶¹ Carey's

⁶⁰Christopher Anderson, "A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of The Rev. William Carey, D.D. of Serampore, Bengal; Delivered in Charlotte Chapel, on the Evening of the 30th November, 1834" (second edition; Edinburgh: A. Balfour and Co., 1835), p. 11.

⁶¹James Culross, William Carey (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1881), p. 39. At a ministers' meeting held at Northampton in 1786 the venerable moderator of the association, John Ryland, Sr., invited the younger ministers to propose a subject for discussion. There being no reply

reputation as a preacher was growing, but soon many labeled his challenging and progressive utterances as heresy. In his diary on July 8, 1788, Ryland wrote:

Asked Brother Carey to preach. Some of our people, who are wise above what is written, would not hear him, called him an Arminian, and discovered a strange spirit. Lord pity us! I am almost worn out with grief at these foolish cavils against some of the best of my brethren, men of God, who are only hated because of their zeal for holiness.⁶²

Carey had endured many set-backs and disappointments, but at last his chance arrived. In 1792 his turn came to preach to the Northamptonshire Baptist Association at Whitsuntide. Some twenty churches were represented, covering the East Midlands from Hertfordshire to Lincolnshire. Carey himself was then minister of a church at Leicester.⁶³ Even so, his audience was neither large nor influential on that occasion. Carey chose Isaiah 54:2-3 as the text of his sermon in which he employed the two famous phrases: "Expect

Carey at last suggested the question: "whether the command given to the Apostles, to teach all nations, was not obligatory on all succeeding ministers to the end of the world"--to which the old Mr. Ryland was reported to have shouted: "Sit down, young man. You are a miserable enthusiast for asking such a question." Smith, The Life of William Carey, Shoemaker & Missionary, p. 23; Carver, The Course of Christian Missions, p. 139.

⁶²An extract from "The Diary of the Late Rev. Dr. Ryland," John Taylor (ed.), Biographical and Literary Notices of William Carey, D.D. (Northampton: The Dryden Press, 1886), p. 34.

⁶³Payne, The Church Awakes, p. 31.

great things from God--Attempt great things for God."⁶⁴ Before the company dispersed, it was resolved at the insistence of Carey to prepare a plan for a Baptist society for propagating the gospel among the heathen to be considered at the next ministers' meeting.⁶⁵ The modest beginnings appeared in the October 2, 1792, minutes of this meeting at Kettering⁶⁶ shortly after the publication of Carey's Enquiry Thus, in Widow Wallis' small back parlor, a group of twelve men formed the first Protestant society for promoting the evangelization of the world, with an initial subscription of thirteen pounds, two shillings and six pence. Each of the founders of the Baptist Missionary Society agreed with Fuller that "the origin of this Society will be found in the workings of our Brother Carey's mind,"⁶⁷ and demonstrated it by closely adhering to the plan

⁶⁴Smith, The Life of William Carey, Shoemaker & Missionary, p. 37.

⁶⁵Payne, The Church Awakes, p. 32.

⁶⁶Kettering had a chance of cradling modern missions fifty years before 1792. Doddridge propounded his plan for world evangelization to the East Anglian Independent ministers in 1741. The subject was again discussed in August of that year at a similar meeting in Northampton. It was resolved to rediscuss the matter in October at Kettering. Doddridge preached at the Great Meeting, and the conference followed, but the project failed. He could not persuade them to action. S. P. Carey, William Carey, p. 88.

⁶⁷Andrew Fuller, cited by Payne, The Growth of the World Church, p. 44.

outlined in his Enquiry . . . for instituting a missionary society.

The Northampton Association was just twenty-eight years old when the society was formed. Its founders were men of simple and sincere faith, Calvinistic in theology, but by no means as circumscribed in outlook as most of their brethren. Having accepted the gospel in reality as the Word of God, and having experienced the lost state of man, they were willing to exhaust every possibility of effecting a remedy for perishing souls over the greater part of the world.

Carey had projected England's first organization for missions to all the human race outside of Christendom. His project necessarily required a society to carry it out, but coming from independent churches, it provided that every member of every congregation should take part to the extent of united prayer and an average weekly subscription of at least a penny.⁶⁸ In this way Carey came as near the New Testament ideal of all Christians acting in an aggressive missionary Church as was possible in his day and age.⁶⁹

The objectives of missionary endeavor have not always been the same. In the primitive Church the prime factor was

⁶⁸Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 77, 85.

⁶⁹Smith, The Life of William Carey, D.D., pp. 40-41.

soul-saving, directing the penitent to Christ and to faith in His substitutionary atonement.⁷⁰ With motivation very similar to that of the early Church, Carey and his colleagues stressed anew the spiritual claims of the gospel: evangelism, repentance, regeneration, and separation from worldliness and idolatry. The new Baptist society listed its fundamental ideas and principles for the most effective missionary work as follows: the authority of Christ's commands as expressed in the Scripture; the need of the heathen lost in sin; the glory of God in the development of His kingdom; and loyalty to the spirit of Christianity.⁷¹

Nearly all previous Protestant mission work had proceeded on an unworthy basis--the relationship to politics and trade had hindered its spirit and made its continuity uncertain. The Baptist Missionary Society was altogether different--here was an organization distinctly for missions with no political, commercial, or secular ties to help or to hinder. It was purely a Christian undertaking that depended upon individual initiative and was in no way the result of

⁷⁰V. Raymond Edman, The Light in Dark Ages (Wheaton: Van Kampen Press, 1949), p. 389.

⁷¹Address of the B.M.S. to their fellow-Christians at large, soon after the formation of the Society, Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society (Clipstone: J. W. Morris, 1800), Vol. I, pp. 8-9; Carver, The Course of Christian Missions, p. 140.



ecclesiastical action; it was much later till missions was adopted as a major interest of the Church.⁷²

The faith of Carey, Fuller, Pearce, Ryland, Sutcliffe, and others in hazarding a missionary society on such a basis with very feeble backing was new in modern history. Cromwell had planned to have missions a department of Commonwealth service. Rector Castell, of Carey's county, had petitioned the House of Commons for its support. Berkeley had made his plans for a West Indian Mission on a Parliament bounty. Brainerd had been an agent of the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. Wesley had been sent to Georgia by the colony's trustees. Even the Moravians had behind them their wealthy and consecrated Count.⁷³

Once organized for missionary work, the society's next step was to find missionaries. With the slenderest resources, little knowledge of the ways of the world, and no clear plan for obtaining missionaries, their prospects must have appeared rather dim. However, the decision being made, events soon directed them forward. First, rather naturally they turned to Carey. For some time he had been interested

⁷²Carver, The Course of Christian Missions, pp. 138-141.

⁷³S. P. Carey, William Carey, pp. 90-91.

in the South Seas. "His feet and hands," said Pearce Carey, "moved in Leicester, but his heart was in Tahiti."⁷⁴ It was then that a ship's surgeon, John Thomas, who had already been to Bengal, was introduced to them and persuaded Carey to go back to India with him. It was a tremendous venture for a married man of over thirty with three small children and a reluctant wife, but confronted with the path of duty, in 1793 Carey sailed for India.⁷⁵

William Carey has been called the founder of modern missions. This is not correct, for missions as commanded by Jesus never ceased. But it is a fact, when the duty of missions was brought home to the Church of the late eighteenth century, no figure was of more consequence than his.

IV. THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

William Carey and the founders of the Baptist Missionary Society had pioneered in the modern missionary awakening, but prior to and following the organization of this small Baptist society, other non-Baptist currents were slowly moving toward a much larger missionary outlet.

As early as 1781 Thomas Haweis, Rector of Aldwinkle

⁷⁴S. P. Carey, cited by Lord, Achievement; A Short History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1942, pp. 9-10.

⁷⁵Payne, The Church Awakes, pp. 32-33.

and chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon, was unfolding his plans for foreign missions. He secured Lady Huntingdon's willing support of his project to send two students from her college in Wales as missionaries to the South Seas. Haweis carefully directed their training, but shortly before they were to sail his well-meant scheme failed. Neither the Bishop of London nor the Archbishop of Canterbury would give them episcopal ordination, and the young men refused to proceed without it. Again in 1791 Haweis had a similar plan frustrated when no comrade could be found for another young man who had offered his services as a missionary.⁷⁶

The same year the Baptist Missionary Society was organized, David Bogue preached a sermon at Salters' Hall, London, before the corresponding committee of the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Highlands and Islands. In this discourse he expressed in a most forceful manner the duty of communicating the knowledge of the gospel to the heathen. His understanding of the subject was evidently based upon careful reflection.⁷⁷

⁷⁶C. Silvester Horne, The Story of the L. M. S. (London: John Snow & Co., 1895), pp. 3-4; William Ellis, The History of the London Missionary Society (London: John Snow, 1844), Vol. I, pp. 6-8.

⁷⁷James Bennett, Nemoirs of the Life of The Rev. David Bogue, D.D. (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1827), pp. 146, 169.

In 1793 a group of ministers of several denominations met for the purpose of establishing a periodical publication. Their aim was:

To arouse the Christian public from its prevailing torpor, and excite to a more close and serious consideration of their obligations to use means for advancing the Redeemer's kingdom.⁷⁸

At this meeting they determined to begin publication of The Evangelical Magazine, and in July of that year the first edition appeared.⁷⁹ The principal editor was John Eyre, assisted by Matthew Wilks. These men did much toward bringing into fellowship evangelical clergymen, non-conformist ministers, and laymen of both sections.⁸⁰

It was in June of 1793 that George Burder of Coventry, influenced by the Call to Prayer of the Northamptonshire Baptists, led a group of Independent ministers in forming "the Warwickshire Association of Ministers for the spread of the gospel both at home and abroad."⁸¹ Their

⁷⁸Ellis, The History of the London Missionary Society, Vol. I, p. 10.

⁷⁹Richard Lovett, in his History of the L.M.S., states that The Evangelical Magazine was established in 1792, but the correct date was 1793.

⁸⁰Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895 (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), Vol. I, pp. 10-11.

⁸¹John Sibree and M. Caston, Independency in Warwickshire (Coventry: G. and F. King, 1855), p. 93.

title was somewhat misleading since their activities were largely limited to meetings for prayer. However, a postscript of a circular letter sent to the churches of the county to solicit their support of the Association stated their concern for the heathen as follows:

We now conclude our solicitations for your fraternal agreement with us, by calling your attention to one particular more, which we think by no means the least important, viz., the sending of missionaries to the heathen.⁸²

These independent lines of endeavor began to converge in 1794, the year Carey's first letter from India reached Ryland at Bristol Baptist College. Ryland invited some of his friends to the College to share the good news. Among these friends was David Bogue who was then supplying at Whitefield's Tabernacle. The letter made such an impression on Bogue that from then on he began to gather support for his proposed missionary society for non-Baptists.⁸³ Through Bogue there was a direct relation between the activities of Carey and the foundation of the London Missionary Society.

This same year Melville Horne's Letters on Missions was published in England and attracted the attention of John Eyre who asked Thomas Haweis to review the book for The

⁸²Ellis, The History of the London Missionary Society, Vol. I, p. 12.

⁸³Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, Vol. I, p. 5.

Evangelical Magazine. Horne was an Anglican clergyman who had served as a chaplain to the colony of Sierra Leone, which gave practical weight to his passionate appeals for missionaries and his denunciation of the existing apathy. These Letters aroused an enthusiastic response from Haweis, and his review of them was widely circulated.⁸⁴

As an immediate and direct result of these events, David Bogue prepared an address that was published by The Evangelical Magazine in September, 1794, entitled "To the Evangelical Dissenters who practice Infant Baptism." Bogue accused his fellow-Dissenters of a lack of interest in the cause of missions; "we alone are idle,"⁸⁵ he declared. His convincing appeal was considered one of the most important steps in the work of originating the London Missionary Society.⁸⁶

The name of Joseph Hardcastle, an English merchant, had for years been associated with those of Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharp, and William Wilberforce. He co-operated with them in their movement for the abolition of the slave

⁸⁴C. S. Horne, The Story of the L. M. S., p. 5; Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, Vol. I, pp. 11-12.

⁸⁵David Bogue, "To the Evangelical Dissenters who practice Infant Baptism," The Evangelical Magazine (London: T. Chapman, September, 1794), p. 379.

⁸⁶Lovett, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

trade. In his concern for the unfortunate Africans his mind had turned to a serious consideration of missions. He was so moved by the prospects of freeing not only their lives from the bondage of slavery, but also their souls from the penalty of sin, that at the announcement of plans for the formation of a missionary society he became one of the most enthusiastic lay founders.⁸⁷

Another outstanding name in the Wesley-Whitefield tradition was that of Rowland Hill. He had traveled throughout most of Britain as an itinerant evangelist, but in 1782 he laid the first stone of the famous Surrey Chapel in London and became its minister. His opening sermon was entitled "We Preach Christ Crucified," which he said would be the theme of all his discourses in that Chapel.⁸⁸ This was also the theme of his clear evangelical theology that made him a part of the missionary current that was moving toward the formation of the London Missionary Society.

All of these men--Haweis, Bogue, Eyre, Burder, Hardcastle, Hill, and others who were connected with the various missionary-related movements and interests--contributed not only to the rise of missionary enthusiasm but were

⁸⁷C. S. Horne, The Story of the L.M.S., pp. 12-13.

⁸⁸Edwin Sidney, The Life of the Rev. Rowland Hill (London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1844), p. 156.

themselves among the most eminent of the Society's many founders.

John Love, who became the first foreign secretary of the Society and later held the same office in the Glasgow Missionary Society, published his circular letter following meetings for prayer and a discussion on the question of missions. It appeared in the form of an address in the January, 1795, issue of The Evangelical Magazine. In the postscript he urged all who desired to organize a missionary society to contact a group of the missionary-minded ministers in London. It was his hope:

That not only Evangelical Dissenters and Methodists will be found generally disposed to unite in instituting a Society for this express purpose, but that many members of the established Church, of evangelical sentiments, and of lively zeal for the cause of Christ, will also favour us with their kind co-operation. Indeed, the promotion of union and friendly intercourse, among Christians of different denominations, at home, is one of the happy effects which will immediately flow from an institution of this nature.⁸⁹

Public meetings for the organization of a society began in September of 1795 and were very well attended. Some of the most outstanding ministers of that day delivered stirring sermons. The congregations were impressed with the most evident and uncommon outpouring of the Holy Spirit on

⁸⁹John Love, "An Address to Christian Ministers, and all other Friends of Christianity, on the Subject of Missions to the Heathen," The Evangelical Magazine (London: T. Chapman, January, 1795), pp. 11-15.

the ministers in their sermons and prayers. God's presence was so remarkably manifested that some in these great assemblies were reported to have said, "This is a new Pentecost."⁹⁰ Concerning these meetings The Evangelical Magazine printed this statement:

The grandest object that ever occupied the human mind,--the salvation of souls, was presented in such a variety of views, and in so striking a manner, by the preachers, that every serious person awoke as from a dream, filled with surprise that so noble a design had never before been attempted by them, and longing, by future exertions, to redeem lost opportunities.⁹¹

It was in this spirit on September 21, 1795, in London at The Castle and Falcon Inn, that the Society was formed. The next day the founders brought forward their plan: the official name was "THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY,"⁹² and the sole aim was "to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations."⁹³ It was designed as an interdenominational organization with Independents,

⁹⁰John Eyre (ed.), "Religious Intelligence," The Evangelical Magazine (London: T. Chapman, November, 1795), p. 425.

⁹¹Ibid., pp. 424-425.

⁹²It was commonly referred to simply as the Society; however, the name was changed to the London Missionary Society at the annual meeting of 1818. This was done because numerous other missionary societies were in existence by that time. Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, Vol. I, p. 88.

⁹³Eyre (ed.), "Religious Intelligence," p. 422.

Anglicans, Scottish Churchmen, Scottish Seceders, and others among its members. The London Missionary Society sought to realize a unity that would bridge the differences in Church order of the various groups of the one evangelical, Calvinistic family. Haweis stated this principle when he urged that "petty distinctions . . . of names, and forms, the diversities of administrations, and modes of church order . . . be merged in the greater, nobler, and characteristic name of CHRISTIANS."⁹⁴

The London Missionary Society represented a popular missionary movement, which was propelled by a mixture of genuine religious enthusiasm and romantic ideals. In 1796 the missionary ship Duff sailed for Tahiti with thirty missionaries aboard, but only a small number of them proved useful in missionary service. Then in 1799 it sailed a second time but was captured by a French privateer. This expedition ended in complete failure. David Bogue, who had retained a more sober judgment than some of his colleagues, was greatly distressed over the second group of missionaries. He had advocated a higher standard for choosing them, and after the disappointments of "hasty methods of

⁹⁴T. Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), pp. 5-6.

selection,"⁹⁵ he was appointed the tutor of future missionaries.

Undaunted by its first failures the London Society looked to new fields of service and hoped to send missionaries to Africa, India, and Jamaica.⁹⁶ The Society certainly had its faults, but on the other hand, it was characterized by a courageous spirit combining the fervor of the Evangelical Revival with the dynamism so clearly reflected in the tumultuous times in which it had its origin.⁹⁷

V. THE MISSIONARY AWAKENING IN SCOTLAND

The rising tide of evangelical religion soon found missionary outlets in Scotland. The interdenominational plan of the London Missionary Society was adopted in forming the Glasgow Missionary Society in February, 1796, and the Edinburgh (Scottish) Missionary Society in March of that same year. In addition to these the Paisley Missionary Society was founded prior to the meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in May, 1796.

Still other societies were in various stages of being

⁹⁵Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, Vol. I, pp. 56, 66, 74.

⁹⁶Ibid., pp. 102-103.

⁹⁷Johannes Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love (Kampen: J. H. Kok N. V., 1956), pp. 128-131.

formed when the Synods of Fife and Moray sent overtures to the General Assembly on the subject of foreign missions. The Scottish historian, Robert Heron, preserved an "Account" of this famous debate in the General Assembly on May 27, 1796, in which he recorded the overtures as they were read. The proposal from the Synod of Fife was of a general character. It urged the Assembly to "consider . . . the most effectual methods, by which the Church of Scotland may contribute to the diffusion of the Gospel over the world."⁹⁸ The proposal of the Synod of Moray was more specific in calling for an "act of Assembly for a general collection throughout the Church, to aid the several Societies for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen Nations."⁹⁹ The discussion of the Assembly centered mainly on the latter.

Following several speeches in favor of missions Robert Heron made a motion that a committee be appointed to investigate these overtures and report at the next General Assembly. Dr. John Erskine seconded the motion, but the speeches of George Hamilton, Principal George Hill, David Boyle, Alexander Carlyle, and others succeeded in leading

⁹⁸Robert Heron (Ed. 7), "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796" (Edinburgh: Alex. Lawrie, 1796), p. 3.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 4.

the Assembly to dismiss the overtures.¹⁰⁰

This not altogether unexpected action was due to the influence of the Moderates who had been in the ascendancy in the Church of Scotland for most of the latter half of the eighteenth century. The name, Moderates, was taken by the men of this group themselves, and as the name perhaps implies they were much affected by the skepticism that had become common among many of the educated classes of this period. Those in the Church who were not of their number they called Immoderates, Extremists, or "High-flyers."¹⁰¹

Principal Hill and George Hamilton, as leaders and spokesmen of the Moderates, thus opposed these overtures, which were largely supported by the Evangelicals, and the two groups became sharply divided on the issue. These men of the opposition contended: as long as ignorance and irreligion prevailed at home, the expenditure of men and money by the Church for foreign missions was without justification. They further believed that it was unwise and even dangerous to carry the disturbing forces of the Christian religion to the heathen peoples living in primitive

¹⁰⁰Ibid., pp. 5-65.

¹⁰¹John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1882), Vol. II, pp. 413-414; J. Macleod, Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History Since the Reformation (Edinburgh: The Publications Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, 1943), pp. 198-201.

simplicity and untutored in the ways and manners of higher civilization. Hamilton argued that civilization must precede evangelization--"Men must be polished and refined in their manners, before they can be properly enlightened in religious truths,"¹⁰² he declared. The preference for educational work at home was one of the basic attitudes of the Moderates. They saw the primary work of the Church as the removal of superstition in the Christian world.¹⁰³ Thus, educational ideals superseded the old missionary fervor that accompanied the founding of the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge at the beginning of that century, and the Erasmian line was accentuated to such an extent as to become a hindrance to the accomplishing of the missionary task.¹⁰⁴

To these opinions was added a reason best expressed by David Boyle. The awakening of the spirit of liberty in that age, as seen in the French Revolution, had resulted in the formation of political societies. The growth of such

¹⁰²Heron (Ed. 7), "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796," pp. 18, 22.

¹⁰³Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 138-139.

¹⁰⁴Robert W. Weir, A History of the Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, Ltd., 1900), p. 10.

associations in Britain led the upholders of the old order to fear the development of all such societies as possible instruments for revolution and the excesses that followed in the wake of the revolutionary movement in France. Alarmists, such as Boyle, placed all societies, political, philanthropic, and missionary, in the same category. Others stressed only the possibility of such organizations being perverted by subversive leadership.¹⁰⁵

John Erskine, minister of Old Greyfriars Kirk, Edinburgh, and for many years leader of the Evangelical party in the General Assembly, supported the proposal in favor of foreign missions. His reply to Hamilton's statement that the Apostle Paul would not have been prepared to preach to "the Barbarians of Malta"¹⁰⁶ became famous in the history of the missionary awakening. Erskine, pointing to a Bible that he intended to use and employing an expressive Scottish idiom, said, "Moderator, rax me that Bible."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵Heron ([ed.]), "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796," pp. 17-55; D. Mackichan, The Missionary Ideal in the Scottish Churches (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927), pp. 93-96.

¹⁰⁶Heron ([ed.]), "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796," pp. 16-27.

¹⁰⁷Principal Emeritus Hugh Watt supposes that Erskine opened the Bible at the last chapter of Acts and read Acts 28:2 first and then turned the page to Romans 1:14. Hugh

He read the account of the sojourn on Malta (Acts 28:2-10) and of Paul's prayer for the father of Publius and for others who were sick. Erskine believed that these prayers must have been made in the name of Jesus, which would have given Paul the opportunity to explain the power of Christ.¹⁰⁸ In a brilliant speech Erskine tried to win acceptance for the overtures--but he pleaded in vain. The name of John Erskine became closely linked with the missionary enterprise as a result of his powerful convictions on the subject. To those who knew him best it was no surprise to find the aged Doctor's name affixed to the list of founders of the Edinburgh Missionary Society.¹⁰⁹

There were other noble Scots of the late eighteenth century who were perhaps not as famous as Erskine but who were equally as devoted to the cause of missions in Scotland. Several of these men deserve mention: for instance, Robert Balfour, minister of St. Paul's, Glasgow,

Watt, "Moderator, Rax me that Bible," Records of the Scottish Church History Society (Glasgow: The Scottish Church History Society, 1950), Vol. X, pp. 54-55.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.; Heron (ed.), "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796," p. 34.

¹⁰⁹He was described as the society's acting president. Hetherington, History of the Church of Scotland, p. 693; vide Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, Account of the Life and Writings of John Erskine, D.D. (Edinburgh: George Ramsay and Company, 1818), passim.

who was the chief organizer of the Glasgow Missionary Society and its first foreign secretary;¹¹⁰ also Greville Ewing, one of the ministers of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Edinburgh, was attracted by the missionary ideal, and in 1796 he became one of Scotland's first missionary volunteers of the awakening. Ewing was one of the members of Robert Haldane's party, which likewise included David Bogue and others. Their mission was to be located in India and financed by the sale of the Haldane estate at Airthrey, but the East India Company opposed their scheme, and it had to be abandoned. Ewing was one of the charter members of the Edinburgh Missionary Society and its first secretary; he also had the distinction of originating The Missionary Magazine, the first religious periodical of its kind north of the Tweed.¹¹¹

Two other notable founders of the Edinburgh Society were James Alexander Haldane and Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood. James Haldane, the younger brother of the Scottish nobleman, Robert Haldane of Stirlingshire, was a midshipman on the Duke of Montrose when he met David Bogue

¹¹⁰Vide William Chalmers, "Glasgow Missionary Society Quarterly Paper," No. I (Glasgow: Andrew Young, [1828]), pp. 1-4.

¹¹¹J. J. Matheson, A Memoir of Greville Ewing (London: John Snow, 1843), passim.

in Gosport. Under Bogue's influence he gave up sea life and shortly thereafter became one of the lay founders of the society. In 1797 he undertook extensive evangelistic tours throughout Scotland and met with such success that he established in Edinburgh the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home. With the help of his brother, Robert, in 1799 he organized Scotland's first Congregational Church in Edinburgh and became its pastor.¹¹² Sir H. M. Wellwood, the eighth Baronet of Tullibole, and for many years minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, devoted his best efforts for a number of years to the promotion of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge and the Edinburgh Missionary Society.¹¹³

Erskine, Balfour, Ewing, Haldane, Wellwood, and many others directed the course of missionary events in Scotland, and though their societies received no official support from the General Assembly, they continued to grow in both size

¹¹²Alexander Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of His Brother James Alexander Haldane (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1853), passim.

¹¹³For more biographical material on the Scottish men of missions, see Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915), Vol. I, pp. 47-48, 79, 98; Sidney Lee (ed.), Dictionary of National Biography (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1896), Vol. XLVII, p. 289; Heron (ed. 7), "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796," pp. 71-74.

and number. In addition to those already mentioned, missionary societies soon appeared at Perth, Dundee, Stirling, Dumfries, Aberdeen, Kelso, Greenock, and other places often connected with only one parish.¹¹⁴

It was also significant that the Synod of Relief, as a Church court, declared itself favorable to missions in May, 1796. Immediate measures were taken for establishing missions in the Highlands of Scotland, and Relief ministers were likewise well represented in the numerous foreign missionary societies of Scotland.¹¹⁵ The Associate Synod of "Burgher" Seceders wholeheartedly supported the newly-formed societies, but the General Associate Synod of "Anti-Burghers" had some objections to what they termed the latitudinarian tendencies of the societies' constitutions, and though they agreed in principle, they felt they could not participate. It is interesting to note that in spite of

¹¹⁴Robert Campbell, "The Glory of Christ Displayed in the Conversion of the Heathen" (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1800); Bryce Johnston, "The Divine Authority and Encouragement of Missions from Christians to the Heathen" (Dumfries: Robert Jackson, 1797); Thomas Kennedy, "Encouragements to Missions" (Perth: R. Morison Junior, 1797); James Johnston, "The Pastoral Care of Jesus over the Heathen" (Dundee: T. Colvill, 1796); Greville Ewing (ed.), "Proceedings of Missionary Societies," The Missionary Magazine (Edinburgh: Schaw and Pillans, July 18, 1796), Vol. I, p. 45.

¹¹⁵Gavin Struthers, The History of the Rise, Progress, and Principles of the Relief Church (Glasgow: A. Fullarton and Co., 1843), p. 394.

this decision there were some Anti-Burgher congregations that supported the Edinburgh Missionary Society. The two Secession Churches and the Relief Church each adopted different courses toward the practical realization of the missionary command; nevertheless, they were all evangelicals and recognized the missionary duty of the Church.¹¹⁶

The various missionary societies in Scotland were in many ways different from each other, but most of them shared a common aim--that of spreading the gospel among the heathen nations of the world. They had a rich missionary heritage with roots reaching back to Columba. They found their cause stated in the verse chosen for the title page of the Scottish Confession of 1560: "And this glad tidings of the kyngdom, shall be preached throughout the whole world for a witnes to all nacions, and then shall the ende come."¹¹⁷ The Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge set a splendid missionary example for the eighteenth century. An excellent contribution was made by Robert Millar,

¹¹⁶Donald Maclean, "Scottish Calvinism and Foreign Missions," Records of the Scottish Church History Society (Glasgow: The Scottish Church History Society, 1938), Vol. VI, p. 7; vide John M'Kerrow, History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1867), passim.

¹¹⁷Matthew 24:14; The Confession of the Faythe and Doctrine beleved and professed, by the Protestantes of the Realme of Scotlande (London: Rowland Hall, 1561), title page.

minister at Paisley, who in 1723 published his two-volume work entitled The History of the Propagation of Christianity and Overthrow of Paganism. In these volumes Millar stated the leading truths of the Christian religion and traced the origin and development of idolatry from the beginning of the world to the birth of Christ. His central theme, however, was the spread of Christianity from the time of Christ to the beginning of the eighteenth century, to which he added a lengthy chapter on "Further Means to be used for converting the Heathens, and propagating Christianity; with Arguments to promote the same."¹¹⁸ Nearer at hand was the influence of Whitefield and the Wesleys, though they were less effective in Scotland than in England and Wales. More important, perhaps, were the Cambuslang Revival and the sacrifice of a man like David Brainerd. But the most immediate and direct influence was the organization of the London Missionary Society and, to a lesser extent, the example of the Baptist

¹¹⁸Robert Millar, The History of the Propagation of Christianity and Overthrow of Paganism (Edinburgh: John Mosman and Company, 1723), Vol. II, p. 527. There is no discovered record of Robert Millar having associated himself with the missionary organizations of his day. If he contributed more to the cause of missions than the publishing of this work, then it has in some way escaped mention. There seems also to be no direct reference to Millar's History during the late eighteenth century missionary awakening. His type of missionary conviction, however, was to be found in various places in Scotland at the time of the awakening. Vide Foster, "A Scottish Contributor to the Missionary Awakening: Robert Millar of Paisley," pp. 142-145.

Missionary Society and the British Moravians.

The early work of the Scottish societies consisted largely of monetary grants to these English societies and a combined effort to secure missionaries who would be sent out by the London Missionary Society.¹¹⁹

A further thought needs to be added for better understanding the complex situation that existed in the Church of Scotland with respect to foreign missions. To the casual observer the action taken by the General Assembly of 1796 puts the Church of Scotland in an unfavorable light. However, one must remember that this was the first record of the subject being brought before such a representative body of a major denomination for official action and ecclesiastical sanction during this period. It was years before anything similar took place in other denominations, and had the matter arisen elsewhere when it did in Scotland, the outcome may have been far worse. According to Robert Heron's "Account . . ." the motion to dismiss the overtures of the missionary societies was carried by a majority of only 58 to 44 votes.¹²⁰ The result may have been

¹¹⁹Vide William Chalmers, "Glasgow Missionary Society Quarterly Paper," No. III (Glasgow: Andrew Young, 1828), pp. 6-7; Greville Ewing, "A Defence of Missions" (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1797), p. 82.

¹²⁰Heron (Ed. 7), "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796," pp. 53, 65.

disappointing at the moment, but it also offered some brighter aspects. The cause of missions had been brought to the attention of the Church of Scotland in its highest representative court; the debate had centered around the fundamental issues at stake; a large minority was for immediate missionary action; and among the majority who voted against the overtures, there were many in sympathy with the missionary ideal. Thus, in 1796 the door was set ajar, and soon would be opened wide as the Church of Scotland became one of the first major denominations to undertake missions as a branch of Church activity.¹²¹

VI. MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES IN THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands Missionary Society had little, if any, connection with the Scottish societies, but like those

¹²¹Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 142-143; Mackichan, The Missionary Ideal in the Scottish Churches, pp. 107 ff. The overture of the Synod of Fife to the General Assembly in May, 1796, very definitely put the emphasis on "the most effectual methods, by which the Church of Scotland [*italics not in the original*] may contribute to the diffusion of the gospel over the world." Heron (ed. 7), "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796," p. 3. It appears that the purpose of this overture was to lead the Church of Scotland into definite mission work of its own. Perhaps this was what Erskine had in mind when he strongly objected to both overtures being considered together at that meeting. One cannot be certain of this, but it was a fact that most of these numerous Scottish societies ceased to function soon after the Church of Scotland entered the field of foreign missions.

in Scotland, its formation was linked with that of the London Missionary Society, and its early years were marked by closely integrated work with this parent organization.

Because of the energetic instigation of Johannes Vanderkemp, the Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschaft vorvoort planting en bevordering van het Christendom bijzonder onder de heidenen was founded at Rotterdam on December 19, 1797.¹²² From the beginning a certain connection was established with the Dutch Reformed Church. The members of the society were confined almost entirely to the Established Church, but the General Synod had no control over the missionaries or the funds collected. However, the missionaries sent out were examined and ordained by a committee of ministers appointed by the General Synod.

For a time, because of adverse conditions, their funds did not permit the sending out of missionaries, but were expended in home mission work, especially in publication. It was not till the year 1800 that they began to turn their attention to foreign lands and entered an agreement with the London Missionary Society whereby the missionaries supported by the Netherlands Society were under the general

¹²²Gustave Warneck, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions, ed. George Robson (third English edition; Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1906), pp. 135-136.

direction of the London Society.¹²³

The beginning of late eighteenth century Dutch missions can only be explained by the conversion of Dr. Vanderkemp. Vanderkemp, named after the town of Kampen, which Thomas à Kempis made memorable, was from a strong Lutheran background.¹²⁴ Very early he gave up medical studies for a career in the Army, and in keeping with the times became a full-blooded intellectual. Years of military service led to moral degradation, but his marriage to Christina Frank and his decision to resume his medical studies at the University of Edinburgh marked the turning point in his life. His study of philosophy, however, served to harden his mind increasingly against Christianity and strengthened his deistic views.¹²⁵ It was only after the drowning of his wife and child that Vanderkemp turned to God and was marvelously converted.

In the several years following his conversion Vanderkemp continually sought God's will for his life. It

¹²³Edwin Munsell Bliss (ed.), The Encyclopaedia of Missions (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1891), Vol. II, p. 166.

¹²⁴Smith, Short History of Christian Missions, p. 190.

¹²⁵Once while praying on Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh, Vanderkemp, the skeptic and philosopher, addressed God as "O God of Parmenides." A. D. Martin, Doctor Vanderkemp (Westminster: The Livingstone Press, [n.d.]), p. 25.

was thus in answer to prayer that he was led to correspond with the London Missionary Society and volunteer his services as a missionary. He was accepted, and his chosen field of service was South Africa. But prior to his sailing he returned to his home with an open letter from the London Society to the Christian people in Holland. He traveled through the major cities of his country distributing printed translations of this letter and calling the faithful to a new and distant proclamation of the gospel. The Netherlands Missionary Society was established as the direct result of the labor of Vanderkemp, and once more the London Missionary Society was clearly the example. Vanderkemp was not a missionary of the newly formed Dutch Society, but because he was its chief organizer and the only outstanding eighteenth century Dutch example of that Reformed tradition, his name has become inseparably connected with the Dutch missionary activities of this period.¹²⁶

On December 23, 1798, Vanderkemp sailed from Portsmouth and three months later anchored at Cape Town. He entered South Africa, and again with a letter from the London Missionary Society on April 22, 1799, he established the South African Society for Promoting the Spread of

¹²⁶Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, Vol. I, p. 481; Martin, Doctor Vanderkemp, pp. 13, 39, 55-60.

Christ's Kingdom. However, he did not become famous as the founder of missionary societies, but rather he is remembered as the great missionary to the Hottentots.¹²⁷

VII. THE ANGLICAN MISSIONARY AWAKENING

In the early stages of the awakening that saw the rise of the Baptist Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society, the Church of England seems to have been only slightly touched by the wave of missionary enthusiasm. Those who supported the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel stood aloof from the new movement, being much affected by the lethargy that had pervaded the Church. The number of Anglicans who supported the London Society was small and contrary to the main stream of Anglican feeling. The scene, however, was changing as Evangelicalism gained a more substantial footing within Anglican circles. No longer were evangelicals limited to scattered individuals; now there was a small but distinguished group that embraced evangelical ideals and was sensitive to the stimuli of the missionary awakening. Although the Church Missionary Society¹²⁸ was not formed until 1799, it was in various ways

¹²⁷Martin, Doctor Vanderkemp, pp. 62, 74.

¹²⁸The first name was "The Society for Missions to Africa and the East," but this title never came into practical use. It was generally called "The Missions Society"

well rooted in the eighteenth century.

The year 1786 was an epoch-making year in the history of missions. It was in this year that William Carey proposed, at a meeting of Northamptonshire Baptist ministers, that they should consider their responsibilities to the heathen of foreign lands. That same year William Wilberforce experienced new life in Christ, solemnly resolved "to live to God's glory and his fellow-creatures' good,"¹²⁹ and dedicated himself under the oak tree at Keston to the task of abolishing the slave trade. This was the year that Thomas Clarkson published his famous essay against the slave trade, and Granville Sharp formulated his plan for settling liberated slaves in Sierra Leone. The same year Thomas Coke set out across the Atlantic for Nova Scotia but was driven by storms to Antigua, a circumstance which led to his fruitful interest in the West Indies. And in 1786 David Brown reached Calcutta as the first of the famous five chaplains of the East India Company, and Charles Grant, the senior merchant of the Company, sent home his plan for a

or "The Society for Missions." Not until 1812 was the name changed to "The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East." Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), Vol. I, p. 71.

¹²⁹Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol. I, p. 57.

mission in Bengal. That was also the year a small group of clergy and laymen in London, known as the Eclectic Society, first discussed foreign missions.¹³⁰

In the years that followed, these apparently isolated events led to the formation of the Church Missionary Society. By the time the London Missionary Society was organized, the "Clapham Sect," a group of devoutly religious men of the Established Church, was inspiring, feeding, and directing the awakened philanthropic and missionary enthusiasm. The leader of this group was William Wilberforce, a Member of Parliament. Associated with him were Granville Sharp, who refused to take orders in the Church of England that he might be free to devote himself more fully to the struggle against slavery; Charles Grant, recently returned from India and later also a Member of Parliament; Zachary Macaulay, a devoted friend of Africa and father of a yet more famous son; Henry Thornton, Member of Parliament for Southwark around whose estate at the west end of Clapham Common the distinguished "Sect" congregated; Lord Teignmouth, formerly Governor-General of India; James Stephen, a lawyer of West Indian experience, who had married Wilberforce's sister; and John Venn, Rector of Clapham, where most of these men regularly worshiped. All were deeply religious

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 71.

men who owed much to the aged John Newton and the earlier generation of Evangelicals.¹³¹ The closest collaborators in the religious interests of the Clapham Sect were Charles Simeon and Isaac Milner of Cambridge; Richard Cecil, the scholarly clergyman of St. John's, Bedford Row, to whom Josiah Pratt was curate for a time; Thomas Scott, the noted Bible commentator, then at the Lock Chapel; and Basil Woodd, minister of Bentinck Chapel, Marylebone. Of this brilliant group Wilberforce, Newton, Thornton, Venn, Cecil, Scott, Pratt, and Woodd were all members of the first committee of the Church Missionary Society and Macaulay and Simeon joined shortly thereafter.¹³²

Before Grant left India he and David Brown, in seeking support for their mission scheme, contacted Wilberforce and Simeon, the latter an intimate friend of Brown's at Cambridge. Grant and Brown were certain a devout, influential layman and an evangelical clergyman of the Established Church would be the most likely ones to influence the godly people of England for the cause of Indian missions. However, despite Simeon's years of dedication to this cause, it was not official action of the government that established the Bengal mission but the devotion of an obscure Baptist

¹³¹Payne, The Church Awakes, pp. 43-44.

¹³²Ibid., p. 45.

cobbler. According to his own words William Carey owed much of his spiritual fervor to Thomas Scott, who later became the first secretary of the Church Missionary Society.¹³³

Scott was also an influential member of the Eclectic Society, which was instituted early in 1738 by a few of the London clergy for the purpose of mutual religious improvement and the investigation of religious truth. Venn, Grant, Newton, William Goode (the Rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars), Pratt, John Bacon (the famous sculptor), Woodd, Simeon, and Cecil were also among its members.¹³⁴ The Eclectic Society had first discussed missions in 1786 and many times in the years that followed, but not until March 18, 1799, did their words lead to action. At that meeting the following subject was proposed by Venn: "What Methods can we use most effectually to Promote the Knowledge of the Gospel among the Heathen?" Venn, Scott, and Simeon were agreed that they could not join the London Missionary Society. They praised its work but were convinced the Evangelicals of the Established Church would be more effective in an organization of their own denomination. The situation was similar to that which existed among the

¹³³Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, p. 59.

¹³⁴John H. Pratt (ed.), Eclectic Notes (second edition; London: James Nisbet and Co., 1865), p. 1.

Baptists; there was no bigotry involved--only the simple recognition that they could work with more harmony and greater usefulness among their own evangelical numbers. Thus, the discussion led directly to the founding of the Church Missionary Society. Venn and Simeon outlined the following plan of action: 1. Only the Spirit of God could grant success in such a missionary undertaking; therefore, the foundation must be laid in prayer. In this way the providence of God would be followed, not anticipated, and missionary volunteers would be definite signs of God's leading. 2. The success of the mission would demand God-called men. 3. Nature's rule of proceeding from a small beginning would apply to missions and insure a better mission along the lines of the spread of primitive Christianity. (This point appears to be aimed as an objection to the large, rather awkward beginning of the London Missionary Society.) 4. The immediate organization of a society would be absolutely essential. In addition to this plan, Grant urged the founding of a missionary seminary.¹³⁵

Less than a month later, on April 12, 1799, the men of the Eclectic Society and their evangelical friends instituted the Church Missionary Society at The Castle and Falcon Inn, Aldersgate Street, where the London Missionary Society

¹³⁵Ibid., pp. 96-99.

had been formed four years earlier. Among the founders of the new society were some of the greatest statesmen and theologians in Britain, but because it was scarcely established before the end of the eighteenth century, and as a result of several delays, no work was undertaken by them in that century. As Simeon expressed it: "We have been dreaming these four years while all England, all Europe, has been awake."¹³⁶

A society such as this might have been organized a few years sooner than 1799, had it not been for the fact that these men were Anglicans as well as Evangelicals. In other words, they were still a part of that form of ecclesiological thinking which creates a certain reluctance to enter upon tasks that lie outside the bounds of typically recognized ecclesiastical work.¹³⁷ The Evangelicals did not feel they could fully express their missionary convictions through the old Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and there was little hope of winning general Church acceptance for a society on the order of those recently organized. Hence, the Evangelicals of the Church of England were more hesitant to act on the question of missions than the Dissenters had been. With the passing of several years,

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 99.

¹³⁷Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 135.

however, and the Church's position on missions unchanged, it became evident that a society for Anglican Evangelicals would be necessary if they were to accomplish anything in the field of direct foreign mission work. Following Carey's pattern for organizing a missionary society based upon voluntary subscriptions, the Church Missionary Society was formed within the circle of Anglicanism.

VIII. THE THEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

We have already seen that the religious awakening in Great Britain and North America had an important effect on the revival of the missionary idea. There were many outside influences related to the missionary revival, but above all, it was conditioned by the development of British theological and ecclesiastical life, which adapted itself to the spiritual exigencies of a new era of Christian thinking and activity.¹³⁸

The revival of religion had distinctive features wherever it appeared. It was characteristically Protestant and placed special stress upon the authority of the Scriptures, salvation by faith alone, and the priesthood of believers. Much was made of a personal religious experience, of the new birth through trust in Christ, commitment

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 122.

to Him, and faith in what God had done through His incarnation, death on the cross, and resurrection. Many of these beliefs were so widely held among those affected by the revival that their faith became generally known as Evangelical. As a rule, evangelicals were zealous in seeking to win to an acceptance of the gospel nominal Christians, the de-Christianized of Christendom, and non-Christians throughout the world; for this reason they were intensely missionary and, in the words of the New Testament command, endeavored to "preach the gospel to every creature."¹³⁹ The new Evangelicalism of the various religious groups in Britain shortly before 1800 formed the substratum of the missionary awakening. The evangelicals were of a far wider movement than that usually associated with the name of Wesley. Despite the phenomenal spread of Wesleyan Arminianism during this period it was Edwardsian Calvinism that predominated in the missionary origins.¹⁴⁰ The theological background of the missionary evangelicals was formed by a more or less moderate Calvinism.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹Mark 16:15; Latourette, A History of Christianity, p. 1019.

¹⁴⁰Payne, "The Evangelical Revival and the Beginnings of the Modern Missionary Movement," pp. 225-227.

¹⁴¹V. F. Storr, The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, 1800-1860 (London: n.n., 1913), p. 72; Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 117.

The first missionary action had come from English Baptists, but during that century the denomination was composed of two main groups. The section that held the doctrine of general redemption was known as General Baptists; they preached Arminianism and even Socinianism. The other section, to which William Carey belonged, was Calvinistic in theology and called themselves Particular Baptists¹⁴²--Particular, because they believed the particularity of redemption consisted of the sovereign pleasure of God in His application of the atonement.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, the term "particular" was misleading, and they gradually fell under the spell of fatalism and Antinomianism. The pulpit doctrine of Particular Baptists was extravagantly predestinarian; they had made the certainty and inexorability of the divine decrees their cardinal point, and it was but a short step to the position that the salvation of the world was out of their hands.¹⁴⁴ Throughout the denomination even the godly grew passive, as the privileged elect became indifferent toward sharing the gospel with others.

¹⁴²Cf. W. Carey, Enquiry..., p. 84.

¹⁴³Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Conversation on Particular Redemption," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 314.

¹⁴⁴Lord, Achievement; A Short History of the Baptist Missionary Society, p. 7.

These hyper-Calvinists, as they were called, avoided the gospel's invitations to the unregenerate, yet were aware that the Scriptures did invite sinners of some description to believe in Christ, but either overlooked the fact completely or conceived them to be only "sensible sinners."¹⁴⁵ This false Calvinism, which Calvin would have been the first to denounce, proved as hostile to the preaching of the gospel to sinners at home as to the heathen abroad.¹⁴⁶ However, by Carey's day a reaction to hyper-Calvinism among Baptists had already begun.

In the eighteenth century Particular Baptists were the most "consistent Calvinists of English Protestantism,"¹⁴⁷ and by the end of the century Andrew Fuller was their undisputed theological leader.¹⁴⁸ Fuller had made his break with hyper-Calvinism in the writing of his Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation in 1781. His eyes had been opened to evangelical Calvinism by the example of missionaries who preached to the American Indians but had none of the

¹⁴⁵Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Strictures on Sandemanianism," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 257.

¹⁴⁶Smith, The Life of William Carey, D.D., p. 47.

¹⁴⁷Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 117.

¹⁴⁸Ibid.

difficulties that hindered him in preaching the gospel to non-Christians of England.¹⁴⁹ The theology of the Scottish Marrowmen made a deep impression on Fuller,¹⁵⁰ but still more important, he was a careful student of Jonathan Edwards.¹⁵¹

Carey, Ryland, Sutcliff, and the others had received their inspiration from the same source as Fuller.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 150.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., p. 153, col. 2.

¹⁵¹In a letter to John Ryland, January 3, 1803, Fuller said: "The greatest, though not the only, instruction that I have received from human writings, on these subjects, has been from President Edwards's Discourse on Justification." Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Six Letters to Dr. Ryland," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), Letter VI, p. 324, col. 2. Vide Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 151, 188; Fuller, "Strictures on Sandemanianism," p. 274; Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Thoughts on Preaching," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 756.

¹⁵²E. Carey, in his Memoir of William Carey, stated that "before Mr. Carey left England, he was deeply imbued with North American theology. President Edwards, its great master, was his admired author. The strong and absorbing view in which he exhibited some leading principles in the system of revealed truth, seemed so clearly to explode the errors of arminianism on the one hand, and of pseudo-calvinism on the other and to throw such a flood of irresistible light on the mediatorial dispensation, as perfectly captivated and almost entranced, the ministerial circle with which Mr. Carey was connected." Eustace Carey, Memoir of William Carey, D.D., pp. 143-144.

Edwards' powerful mind expressing itself through widely circulated writings stimulated Evangelicalism and helped modify the rigid Calvinistic position. While not denying the doctrine of the sovereignty of God--but indeed stressing it--or of election to salvation by divine decree, Edwards made more room for the action of the sinner in accepting divine forgiveness. Those who adopted Edwards' views emphasized Calvin's doctrine of the depravity of man and consequently, strongly urged their hearers to repent and be saved.¹⁵³ Discerning men were beginning to give an interpretation of the teachings of Calvin with the accent placed upon the grace of God instead of on election. This was the Calvinism, which Smith compared to the doctrines of grace of Paul, Augustine, Columba, and Wycliff, that led the van in the great missionary crusade.¹⁵⁴

Two distinct lines of Evangelicalism emerged within the Church of England--the Arminian Methodists under the leadership of John Wesley and the group of Evangelicals who remained loyal to the Church. The latter group did not become Wesleyan Methodists but rather were associated with

¹⁵³Latourette, A History of Christianity, p. 961.

¹⁵⁴Smith, Short History of Christian Missions, p. 163.

the revival of Calvinism in the Church of England.¹⁵⁵ Apparently, no direct connection existed between original Anglican Calvinism and the Calvinism of these Evangelicals, for the Arminian-Laudian world of thought had fully superseded the older traditions. The revival of Anglican Calvinism was due to the influence of George Whitefield and the chaplains of the Countess of Huntingdon. They were too church-minded to leave the Church of England but instead remained to form the nucleus of the rising Evangelical party within the Church.¹⁵⁶ The second generation Evangelicals of this group were the ones who took up the cause of missions during the awakening.

The intellectual movement known as the Enlightenment, or Aufklärung, had disastrous repercussions upon Continental Protestantism. Protestants succeeded in being reasonable but lost their earnestness. The inevitable outcome was inaction, indifference, and unbelief.¹⁵⁷ In Britain, however, it was not an extreme deistic Rationalism, but a more mild Latitudinarianism that had gained the ascendancy in eighteenth century spiritual life--an ascendancy ultimately broken by a vigorous Evangelicalism, which by the end of the

¹⁵⁵Yngve Brilioth, Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), pp. 6-7.

¹⁵⁶Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 118.

¹⁵⁷Carver, Missions and Modern Thought, p. 69.

century had acquired a firm foothold in almost every religious denomination in Britain.¹⁵⁸

In Scotland the Evangelicals who belonged to the churches in which the Westminster Confession of Faith was still a living part of their spiritual heritage were convinced Calvinists. Almost all of them had been influenced by Edwards' theology through the efforts of Erskine and others. Whitefield, too, had stimulated interest in Edwardsian Calvinism, and though many in Scotland disagreed with his method of itinerant preaching, his evangelical Calvinism found many ready listeners.¹⁵⁹

The Scottish Evangelicals were in conflict with the Moderates of the Church of Scotland just as the English Evangelicals opposed the Latitudinarians. The clergy of the Moderate party could not correctly be labeled Rationalists or Deists, even though they had definite tendencies in that direction and were accused of being Pelagian and omitting some of the great doctrines of the faith from their teaching.¹⁶⁰ For this reason their theology, and thus their

¹⁵⁸Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 124.

¹⁵⁹Payne, "The Evangelical Revival and the Beginnings of the Modern Missionary Movement," pp. 229-230.

¹⁶⁰Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, Vol. II, pp. 413-414; Macleod, Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History Since the Reformation, pp. 198-201.

preaching, suffered from a moderation that distinguished them from the Evangelical party.¹⁶¹

Apologetics, as distinct from dogmatics or polemics, was found only to a modified degree in the preaching of the Scottish Evangelical school. Unlike the Moderates the Evangelicals adopted the method of witness that proceeded on Scripture and on its teaching as authoritative without preliminary argument. This method called for instant surrender and submission to their message. The aim of their preaching was to bring home the truth to the hearts of their hearers, and thus by the inward teaching of the Spirit, the whole system of Bible truth would reveal itself as being of God. They held the light of the gospel aloft and believed that its self-evident truth would constrain the hearers to testify of its heavenly character and origin.¹⁶²

The Calvinistic missionary evangelicals of Britain constituted a small but aggressive minority. They believed their theological position to be a return to original

¹⁶¹It must be borne in mind, however, as Principal Emeritus Hugh Watt points out, that "there were shades of Moderatism and shades of Evangelicalism, and while the irrevocably committed were known and had acquired certain distinctive characteristics, a very large proportion were of an indeterminate shade." Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1943), p. 6.

¹⁶²Macleod, Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History Since the Reformation, p. 196.

Calvinism and embodied those doctrines that were absolutely essential from a soteriological point of view. Perhaps for this reason the men of missions allowed very little room in their thinking for any system other than Evangelicalism set upon a broad Calvinistic foundation. They were obstinately devoted to their own belief and were firmly opposed to any compromise with other systems that might eventually undermine the evangelical fervor. Their position at this point will be better understood if it is remembered that they were in a distrusted minority in conflict with theological and philosophical systems, many of which had been responsible for the lifeless condition in the Church of that day. In the interest of vital religion the evangelicals, persuaded of the benevolent tendency of their doctrine, resisted hyper-Calvinism, Antinomianism, Unitarianism (Socinianism), Arminianism, Latitudinarianism, Moderatism, and all forms of thinking that detracted from the evangelical message.¹⁶³

¹⁶³Even Evangelicals such as Henry Venn, Thomas Scott, and Richard Cecil regarded many people who thronged their churches as tainted with a practical Antinomianism. Evangelical doctrine did not logically lead to Antinomian principles, but some of the people received it in an Antinomian spirit, being satisfied with the doctrine without showing the fruits of it. They accepted the evangelical doctrine but did not practice the evangelical Christian life. This was by no means limited to the evangelical congregations of the Church of England. Those of the old orthodoxy were Antinomian also and to a much greater degree; they were satisfied with forms just as some of the others were satisfied with hearing. Charles Hole, The Early History of the Church Missionary Society (London: Church Missionary Society, 1896), p. 33.

The men of missions acquired the strong points of Evangelicalism, but they also possessed some of its weaknesses. Most prominent was the lack of a clear doctrine of the Church.¹⁶⁴ From the beginning Wesley's aim had been to recover the evangelical witness of the Church; he did not envision his Methodists as a separate denomination. Even as the followers of Wesley were less church-minded than their leader, so the reverse was true of the Calvinistic Evangelicals of the Church of England. The later Evangelicals of the missionary awakening placed a greater value on the Church and its order than their predecessors had done. Some of the early Evangelicals had little regard for parish boundaries and maintained a loose relationship with the Church. Charles Simeon, one of the leading theologians of missions, however, was a real Churchman and influenced many of his brethren by focusing attention upon the idea of the Church.¹⁶⁵ It was not by accident that the name of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East was changed to the Church Missionary Society.

One last point that must be considered under the heading of theological background is the eschatological

¹⁶⁴S. C. Carpenter, Church and People, 1789-1889 (London: S. P. C. K., 1933), pp. 40-41.

¹⁶⁵Charles Smyth, Simeon and Church Order (Cambridge: The University Press, 1940), passim.

element in the evangelicals' theology. Their eschatology was reminiscent of that of Jonathan Edwards who had influenced the great majority of them. Some saw a partial fulfillment of prophecy in the current political situation, but the general scheme of their eschatology was not dependent upon external circumstances. All Evangelicalism of the awakening had essentially the same background of eschatological thinking, and differences among the various evangelical groups were less in the theological sphere and more a matter of the intensity of eschatological views.¹⁶⁶ Evangelicals entertained a common expectation of the millennium, which, as Edwards had seen it, was a period of the spiritual government of Christ. They were postmillennialists and looked forward to that millennial period of spiritual blessedness when the knowledge of the Lord would cover the earth.¹⁶⁷ A favorable eschatology such as this was an important part of the evangelical Calvinism that formed the substance of the initial justification of missions during the awakening period.

¹⁶⁶Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 122.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 120.

PART II

CHAPTER I

THE AUTHORITY OF THE COMMANDMENTS OF CHRIST AS THE JUSTIFICATION OF MISSIONS

In the last decade of the eighteenth century William Carey launched his powerful plea for missions to the heathen world. This plea marked the beginning of a great century and a half of missionary witness in which we still find ourselves engaged. The most notable single effort by Carey that must be considered pre-eminently influential in getting the modern missionary movement under way was the publication in 1792 of his Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens, which marked a distinct point of departure in the history of Christianity.¹ "Obligation" not only appeared in the title but was the dominant theme throughout. Carey was convinced that world evangelization was the inescapable duty of Christians. Andrew Fuller had assisted him in the development of this thought. Fuller, in his book, The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation, reached the conclusion that it was the duty of all men to believe the gospel when it was made known to

¹"Missions," The Encyclopaedia Britannica (fourteenth edition; London: The Encyclopaedia Britannica Co., 1929), Vol. XV, p. 596.

them. If this were not true then to disbelieve the gospel would be no sin.² On the basis of the Lord's commission Carey took Fuller's conclusion one step further: if it were the duty of all men to believe the gospel when it was preached to them, then he reasoned it must also be the duty of those who have received the gospel to make it known to all other men for the obedience of faith.³

According to God's plan disciples were chosen by the Son to preach good tidings to every creature and by every possible method to bring the ends of the earth back to God. These men went forth by divine commission and met with wonderful success.⁴ But for centuries this commission had been almost completely neglected. The attempts that were made, said Carey, were "inconsiderable in comparison of what might be done if the whole body of Christians entered heartily into the spirit of the divine command."⁵

²Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 157.

³James Culross, The Three Rylands (London: Elliot Stock, 1897), p. 79.

⁴William Carey, An Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens (Leicester: Ann Ireland Booksellers, 1792), pp. 7-8.

⁵Ibid., p. 5.

I. THE GREAT COMMISSION

1. Carey's Defense of this Commandment

Of those associated with the missionary awakening Carey was the one largely responsible for developing the idea that the justification of missions was rooted in the great commission. This is carefully set forth in the first section of his small book, which also constitutes his theological argument, and is entitled, "An Enquiry whether the Commission given by our Lord to his Disciples be not still binding on us."⁶ With sound reasoning he maintained that it was still obligatory. For Carey to insist on the authority of the Lord's command may seem strange to us who no longer even remotely consider this a matter of dispute. But it must be remembered that Carey was grappling with a view that was powerful and dominant in his day. Hence, his first argument was clearly directed to the "attitude" of the Reformers, which was still accepted in many quarters.⁷ It was true that several of the Reformers held views regarding history and providence which seemed to completely exclude any idea of obligation to evangelize other nations or

⁶Ibid., p. 7.

⁷Ernest A. Payne, The Church Awakes (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1942), p. 66.

rac^{es}.⁸

Calvin had indicated that it was needless to employ any special agency for converting the heathen. He wrote, "We are taught that the kingdom of Christ is neither to be advanced nor maintained by the industry of men, but this is the work of God alone."⁹ It appeared that Luther's and Melanchthon's eschatology had led them astray. They believed the end of the world was so imminent that not enough time remained to spread the gospel throughout the world. They also claimed that the commission of Christ was given to the original apostles only. Luther, therefore, was convinced that the proclamation of the gospel throughout the earth as a preliminary prophecy of the end of the age had long before been accomplished. He saw the absence of the gospel in the world of his day as only another sign of the end foretold by Christ and in the predictions of the apocalypse.¹⁰

⁸Ibid., p. 55.

⁹Cited by Charles Henry Robinson, History of Christian Missions (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), p. 43.

¹⁰

Martin Luther, The Table Talk, trans. and ed. William Hazlitt (London: H. G. Bohn, 1857), p. 325; Gustave Warneck, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions, ed. George Robson (third English edition; Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1906), pp. 10-14; T. F. Torrance, "The Eschatology of the Reformation," Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers No. 2 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd Ltd., 1952/), p. 54. Calvin's view was like that of

Though this does not represent a complete evaluation of the Reformers' views concerning missions, it furnished sufficient grounds for many in Carey's day to object to foreign missions.¹¹ This conclusion may have sufficed for preceding generations, but it was not sufficient for Carey's independent mind. "Jesus . . . commissioned his apostles to Go, and teach all nations; or, as another evangelist

Luther. Concerning the progress of the gospel in the world, they both believed "it was in principle declared to the whole world by the apostles. The work begun by them continues in ever widening circles to extend to men everywhere. This is not done by means of a selfconscious missionary program, however, but it is effected through the preaching and especially through the dispersion of Christians attendant upon persecution. . . . The views of Melancthon, Bugenhagen, and Zwingli are similar to those of Calvin and Luther. . . . Even Bucer did not free himself from the Reformation conception that the Great Commission was limited to the apostles." Harry R. Boer, Pentecost and the Missionary Witness of the Church (Franeker: T. Wever, 1955), pp. 15-17.

¹¹This limited view of the Reformers' attitude toward missions does not do them justice. It is true that their works do not contain even fragments of a doctrine of missions, but one could not expect them in the sixteenth century to have the world vision of William Carey. It must be remembered, however, that Luther was much concerned about the conversion of the Turks from Islam, and that Bucer had a special interest in the conversion of the Jews. Calvin, too, in his sermons, correspondence, and prayers expressed concern for the heathen, especially those in South America as a result of his contact with the Brazilian immigrants. Various circumstances hindered the outgrowth of the missionary idea with the Reformers, yet their works do contain some positive elements, which became missionary motives when impeding factors were overcome. Vide Johannes Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love (Kampen: J. H. Kok N. V., 1956), pp. 6-8, 12; Samuel M. Zwemer, "Calvinism and the Missionary Enterprise," Theology Today, ed. John A. Mackay (Princeton: [n.n.], April, 1950-January, 1951), pp. 206-211.

expresses it, Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."¹² This obligation, Carey declared, still rested on the Christian Church; consequently, he directed his attack at the main objections to missions in his day.

As a result of Luther's teaching many thought the commission was adequately executed by what the apostles and others had done and objected to foreign missions, saying:

The apostles were extraordinary officers and have no proper successors, and because many things which were right for them to do would be utterly unwarrantable for us, therefore it may not be immediately binding on us to execute the commission, though it was so upon them.¹³

To this objection Carey made the following reply: First, If the command of Christ to teach all nations were restricted to the apostles, or those under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit, then baptism should be also,

¹²Matthew 28:19; Mark 16:15; Carey, Enquiry..., p. 7. Christopher Anderson in a sermon preached at the death of William Carey said: "It seems as though it had been the commission of our blessed Lord to his apostles, which, of itself alone, set all in motion. He had said 'Go--Go and teach all nations,' and again, 'Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.' The extent of this commission was manifest, and though, perhaps, scarcely a single individual upon earth at the moment arrogated less to himself than Carey, the obligation was felt by him to be imperative." Christopher Anderson, "A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of the Rev. William Carey, D.D. of Serampore, Bengal; Delivered in Charlotte Chapel, on the Evening of the 30th November, 1834" (second edition; Edinburgh: A. Balfour and Co., 1835), p. 15.

¹³Carey, Enquiry..., p. 8.

seeing that it appears in the same command, and every denomination, except the Quakers, does wrong in baptizing at all.¹⁴

Secondly, If the command of Christ to teach all nations were confined to the apostles, then missionaries and chaplains who have endeavored to carry the gospel to the heathen have done so without any authority. And though God has promised the most glorious things to the heathen world by sending His gospel to them, yet whoever goes first, or even at all, with that message, unless he has a new and special commission from heaven, must go without any authority for so doing.¹⁵

Thirdly, If the command of Christ to teach all nations extends to the apostles only, then the promise of the Divine presence in this work must be so limited, but this cannot be true because Christ said, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."¹⁶

There are cases, however, in which even a divine command may cease to be binding. Carey mentioned four. If the command were repealed, as the ceremonial commandments of the

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 8-9; vide Melville Horne, Letters on Missions (Andover: Flagg and Gould, 1815), pp. 32-34.

¹⁵Carey, Enquiry..., p. 9.

¹⁶Ibid.; Matthew 28:20.

Jewish law, or if there were a counter-revelation of equal authority with the original command in any particular instance, then it could no longer be held binding. Moreover, if there were a natural impossibility of executing it, or if there were no subjects for this command to be exercised upon, then it would be equally as void. But none of these things could be alleged by anyone for neglecting the commission given by Christ.¹⁷

Many people objected on the grounds that they ought not to force their way but wait for the openings and leadings of Providence. To this Carey answered, " . . . Neither ought we to neglect embracing those openings in providence which daily present themselves to us."¹⁸ God would neither transport ministers to the heathen world nor endow them with the gift of tongues apart from ordinary means. Anything of this nature would be miraculous, not providential.

The command existed, and it would be rendered binding by a removal of the obstacles that made obedience

¹⁷Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 9-10; vide Horne, Letters on Missions, pp. 32-34, in which he gives four reasons why it was impossible that the commission be considered for the apostles only.

¹⁸Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 10-11; vide David Bogue, "Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), pp. 145 ff. Note that Bogue borrows from Carey's argument.

impossible. Carey declared that they were already removed. It was not Paul's duty to preach Christ to the inhabitants of Otaheite, he explained, because such a place had not been discovered in his day, but this was not the case in Carey's day. Physical impossibility could never be pleaded as long as facts existed to prove the contrary.¹⁹ Missionaries of the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian Brethren, and of the Roman Catholics, were sufficient examples to prove this point. They were already located in some of the world's most unfavorable places preaching Christ to the heathen. For Carey, "natural inability was not deserving blame, but MORAL inability was highly culpable."²⁰ For the sake of worldly gain even English traders had surmounted all obstacles that would hinder missions to the heathen.²¹

Others objected to missions because some theologians had proved from Scripture that the time for the conversion of the heathen had not yet come. First, they said, "the witnesses must be slain" and many other prophecies fulfilled.²² If this were the case, which Carey doubted, then

¹⁹Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 10-11.

²⁰A marginal note made by Carey in his personal copy of Robert Hall's Help to Zion's Travellers (Bristol: William Pine, 1781), pp. 230-231, located in Bristol Baptist College.

²¹Carey, Enquiry..., p. 11. ²²Ibid., p. 12.

any objection to engage immediately in a mission to the heathen must be based on one of two things:

Either . . . the secret purpose of God is the rule of our duty, and then it must be as bad to pray for them, as to preach to them; or else that none shall be converted in the heathen world till the universal downpouring of the Spirit in the last days. But this objection comes too late; for the success of the gospel has been very considerable in many places already.²³

Carey made but little appeal to texts in his missionary apologetic. He was also careful "to insist on the obscurity of prophecy and hence the unwisdom of pressing particular interpretations of it."²⁴

Some objected that multitudes in Britain were as ignorant of Christianity as the South Sea savages, and therefore, plenty of work remained to be done at home before thinking about other countries. This was readily granted, but usually those who would not subscribe to the evangelization of the heathen abroad because of the heathen at home, were found to be those to whom the heathen at home were

²³Ibid.; vide Bogue, "Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," pp. 126 ff. On this subject Horne wrote: "Others object, I know not that God's time for the conversion of the heathen be yet come. . . . But is I don't know, in the lips of any man to be opposed to the authoritative command of Christ, Go, preach the Gospel to every creature?" Horne, Letters on Missions, pp. 143-144.

²⁴Payne, The Church Awakes, p. 74.

least of all indebted.²⁵ The Britons of Carey's day had the means of grace; faithful ministers were placed in almost every part of the land. It was needless to be indifferent about a project for conveying the gospel to the whole world because much corresponding work was to be done at home.²⁶ Carey took it sublimely for granted that Christ could save the world, if His Church would be faithful to its commission and carry the Light to heathen darkness.

2. The Great Commission During the Missionary Awakening

In the years that followed the writing of Carey's Enquiry . . . , other important figures of the missionary awakening had definite things to say about the Lord's commission in justifying foreign missions. The foremost representative of this group was Carey's good friend Andrew Fuller. In his Mission Apology, Fuller gave a clear account of the duty of Christians. Writing in behalf of the Baptist Missionary Society he said:

We have no notion of any thing being the will of God, but what may be proved from the Scriptures; nor of any obligations upon us to go among the heathen more than upon other Christians. If we be not authorized by the

²⁵Eustace Carey, Memoir of William Carey, D.D. (London: Jackson and Walford, 1837), p. 93.

²⁶Ibid., p. 91; W. Carey, Enquiry..., p. 13; vide Bogue, "Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," pp. 151 ff. and Horne, Letters on Missions, pp. 141 ff.

New Testament, we have no authority. And as to our com-ments, if they will not bear the test of fair and im-partial scrutiny, let them be discarded and let our undertakings be placed to the account of a well-meant but misguided zeal. The principal ground on which we act is confined to a narrow compass; it is the commis-sion of our Saviour to his disciples, "Go--teach all nations."²⁷

The apostles and primitive ministers went everywhere preaching the gospel, even at the risk of life and liberty. This was right for them, observed Fuller, for they were expressly commanded to do so. Likewise, the command of Christ extended to Christians of the present day.²⁸ It cannot be denied that there were teachings entrusted to the apostles for them to commit to Christians of succeeding ages. This was true of the great body of Christian doc-trines and precepts in the New Testament, and as the command of Christ extended to the end of the world, it must be of this description.²⁹ Not that every Christian was commanded to preach, nor any Christian in all places, but the Chris-tian Church as a body and members individually were com-manded to use those means that Christ had appointed for the

²⁷Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "An Apology for the Late Christian Missions to India," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 820, col. 2.

²⁸Ibid.; Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Accepta-tion," pp. 154-155, cols. 2, 1.

²⁹Fuller, "An Apology for the Late Christian Missions to India," p. 820, col. 2.

discipling of all nations.³⁰

To say that because Christians were not endowed like the apostles with the gift of tongues and the power of working miracles, therefore they were not obliged to make use of the powers they have for the conversion of the world was an unreasonable conclusion.³¹ There was no proof that the apostles' obligation to preach the gospel to all nations arose from those extraordinary powers. If working miracles were the prerequisite for preaching the gospel to all nations, then the Christian ministry should have terminated as soon as miracles ceased, since the institution of the ministry was founded upon the commission for the teaching of all nations. Therefore, reasoned Fuller, if working miracles were omitted, to be consistent, the ministry must also be omitted.³²

According to the Scriptures all nations were promised to the Messiah for His inheritance.³³ As the seed of

³⁰Ibid.; Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 163-164, cols. 2, 1.

³¹Fuller, "An Apology for the Late Christian Missions to India," p. 820, col. 2.

³²Ibid.

³³vide Pearce's contribution to this argument as it appeared in his diary on October 17, 1794; Andrew Fuller, Memoirs of the Late Rev. Samuel Pearce (Clipstone: J. W. Norris, 1800), p. 124.

Abraham used means to go up and possess the promised land of Canaan, so his descendants of all ages should use means to possess all nations for Christ.³⁴ Certainly Fuller knew that the heathen would never be converted by mere human means, but neither would they be converted without them.³⁵

In his address "To the Evangelical Dissenters . . ." David Bogue of the London Missionary Society suggested: "Perhaps we have not considered our duty resulting from that command which was directed from the supreme authority to every follower of the Lamb: Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."³⁶ He emphatically stated: "That has not yet been done. It ought to be done without delay,"³⁷ because "every Christian is called upon to act his part, and cannot without criminality withhold his exertions towards procuring obedience to the command of his Redeemer."³⁸

Bogue urged Christians to be led by gratitude in becoming active instruments in the hands of Christ, and thus

³⁴Fuller, "An Apology for the Late Christian Missions to India," p. 820, col. 2.

³⁵Ibid., p. 822, col. 1.

³⁶David Bogue, "To the Evangelical Dissenters who practice Infant Baptism," The Evangelical Magazine (London: T. Chapman, September, 1794), pp. 378-379.

³⁷Ibid. ³⁸Ibid., p. 379.

proclaim to the most distant parts of the earth the grace of God of which they themselves have been made partakers.³⁹ He believed that justice, too, should stimulate obedience, for the inhabitants of Britain were once pagans living in idolatry until the servants of Jesus came from other lands and preached His gospel, which led to the knowledge of salvation. In just compensation should not messengers be sent to nations who are as the Britons were of old, and urge the heathen to turn from their idols to the living God?⁴⁰

From the Church Missionary Society Richard Cecil in a simple exposition emphasized the apostolic authority contained in the divine command. He explained it thus:

All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth: and, in virtue of this power, Go ye and teach all nations;--go by my authority--go encouraged--go with my blessing: Go, teach all nations--or, go and enlist them--go and disciple them;--and, as a sign of this, Go--baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Holy Ghost.⁴¹

On this world mission the authority of the apostles was to be relied upon because it was valid; it was based upon the command or commission of Him who claimed all power. In Luke 10:16 Christ declared: "He that heareth you heareth me;

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.; vide W. Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 69, 87.

⁴¹Richard Cecil, Original Thoughts on Various Passages of Scripture, ed. Catherine Cecil (second edition; London: Seeleys, 1851), Vol. I, pp. 532-533.

and he that despiseth you despiseth me."⁴² Apostolic authority was founded upon these teachings of Christ, and with that authority was the duty of world evangelization. Christ had given them His word; He would be with them even to the end of the world. Cecil and the founders of the Church Missionary Society⁴³ accepted the duty of teaching all nations--a duty which, though long neglected, had yet been passed on to them by the apostles through succeeding generations of Christians.⁴⁴

These references to the great commission were not the only ones of the missionary awakening; there were numerous others,⁴⁵ but these will be sufficient to illustrate the

⁴²Ibid., p. 535.

⁴³Horne, Letters on Missions, pp. 21-22 ff. Horne's stinging charge directed toward his own Anglican brethren concerning their "open violation of Christ's command" proved effective in stimulating missionary action.

⁴⁴Cecil, op. cit., pp. 534 ff.

⁴⁵Vide Thomas Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), pp. 5-23; Rowland Hill, "Glorious Displays of Gospel Grace," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), pp. 93 ff.; Onesimus, "An Essay on the Means by which the Gospel was Originally Propagated in the World," The Missionary Magazine (Edinburgh: Schaw and Pillans, July, 1796), Vol. I, pp. 3-14; Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 154, col. 2, 155, col. 1, 163, col. 2, 164, col. 1; Horne, Letters on Missions, pp. 32-34, 44 ff.; David Bogue, Discourses on the Millennium (London: T. Hamilton, 1818), p. 506; Thomas Haweis, "Review

consensus of those vitally concerned with missions. Certainly J. Van Den Berg is correct in stating that Carey's enquiry into the great commission was addressed to the hyper-Calvinists of his own community of Particular Baptists.⁴⁶ However, one must not overlook the fact that Carey in his Enquiry . . . was doubtless urging the duty of missions on all Christians, and these other references to the commission indicate that men of various denominations found it advisable to emphasize the missionary obligations of Christians like Carey had done. For many evangelicals Carey had dealt with the matter conclusively, and these men of missions joined with him in challenging the various non-evangelical groups of their day, such as the hyper-Calvinists, with world evangelization by attacking the many objections that were raised against missions. Very important also, the evangelicals demanded the duty of immediate action of those who passively accepted the commission but remained too indifferent to do anything about it.

of Religious Publications," The Evangelical Magazine (London: T. Chapman, November, 1794), p. 476; Greville Ewing, "A Defence of Missions" (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1797), pp. 24-25; John Sibree and M. Caston, Independency in Warwickshire (Coventry: G. and F. King, 1855), p. 140; Robert Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," Sermons on Interesting Subjects (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1819), pp. 95-96; et al.

⁴⁶Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 164-165.

In the writings of those associated with the societies the duty of obeying the Lord's commission was stated as an established fact, and in less than eight years after the founding of the Baptist Missionary Society Thomas Haweis in his Church History wrote: "That the gospel should be preached to every creature, is the clear and indisputable command of him, whom all Christians profess themselves bound to hear and obey."⁴⁷

II. THE LOVE OF NEIGHBOR

The commandment given by Christ, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," (Mark 12:31) was another significant justification for missions. Carey had stated the necessity of loving the heathen as a motive for missions. With sober humor he said, "It only requires that we should have as much love to the souls of our fellow-creatures, and fellow sinners, as they [i.e. commercial men] have for the profit arising from a few otter-skins."⁴⁸ The same sentiment was also expressed in the first address of the Baptist

⁴⁷Thomas Haweis, An Impartial and Succinct History of the Rise, Declension and Revival of the Church of Christ (London: J. Mawman, 1800), Vol. III, pp. 342-343; vide David Bogue and James Bennett, The History of Dissenters, from the Revolution to the Year 1808 (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1833), Vol. I, p. 98.

⁴⁸W. Carey, Enquiry..., p. 69.

Missionary Society to fellow-Christians at large. In this address the founders had asked:

. . . Shall we not respect all our fellow-creatures as brethren? And if we really consider them as such, should not love and compassion excite us to promote their present and especially their eternal welfare?⁴⁹

But the development of this important commandment for the cause of missions was largely the contribution of Samuel Greatheed of the London Missionary Society, Robert Balfour of the Glasgow Missionary Society, and Greville Ewing of the Edinburgh Missionary Society.

Ewing in his "Defence of Missions" introduced his thoughts on this commandment by investigating some of the promises of God that were addressed to all men. He chose Romans 10:12 as his text: "For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek: for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him."⁵⁰ He was certain that

⁴⁹Address of the B.M.S. to fellow-Christians at large, soon after the formation of the Society, Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society (Clipstone: J. W. Morris, 1800), Vol. I, pp. 8-9; for further references on this subject see Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Antinomianism," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), pp. 338, col. 1, 339, cols. 1, 2; Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Dialogues and Letters between Crispus and Caius," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), Dialogues VII, VIII, pp. 300-301, Letter II, p. 303.

⁵⁰This was also the motto which appeared on the title page of Carey's Enquiry....

the Bible revealed salvation to mankind without respect for national differences. To prove his point he referred to God's impartiality in hearing prayer. "The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him, to all that call upon him in truth." (Psalm 145:18) The same idea also appears in Joel 2:32: "And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered." And in John 4:23 Jesus announced the absolute annihilation of all national or racial distinctions as far as Christianity was concerned: "The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him." Ewing believed that these Scriptures provided the substance for a far broader definition of the Biblical term "neighbor" as it was used by Christ than was commonly employed in his day.⁵¹

On this basis the commandment will be considered from three points: The principle involved; the extent to which it must be applied; and the exercise of it.⁵²

1. The Principle Involved

The principle to be adopted for one's conduct toward

⁵¹Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," pp. 9-12.

⁵²Samuel Greatheed, "A Mission to the Heathen Founded Upon the Moral Law," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. 49.

his neighbor is to be found in one word--love. Greatheed believed it to be the most comprehensive term afforded by any language. He said, "It appears to me no Hyperbole, to assert that it expresses more than the whole universe contains; for the Apostle John declares that 'God is love.'"⁵³ Therefore, it was not strange that the whole duty⁵⁴ of man, both to his neighbor and to God, was contained in the same word. For after all, what could man aspire to beyond a resemblance of God?⁵⁵

The love of neighbor was the inevitable outcome of the first commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." (Matthew 22:37) Christians love God because He first loved them. His love constrained them to live

⁵³Ibid.; Robert Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," Sermons on Interesting Subjects (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1819), p. 53. Concerning Mark 12:30-31 Fuller remarked: "This simple principle is competent to the government of all intelligent nature." Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "The Gospel Its Own Witness," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 9, col. 1.

⁵⁴It is interesting to note at this point that the book, Whole Duty of Man, had received a wide circulation throughout the eighteenth century, and just prior to the missionary awakening (1788) it came out in a completely new edition. This important book was largely concerned with man's duty to God and to his neighbor.

⁵⁵Greatheed, "A Mission to the Heathen Founded Upon the Moral Law," p. 49.

obedient lives according to His commandments and in His service.⁵⁶ This inspired them to resemble Him and to conform to His will.⁵⁷

Balfour believed that love of God would lead Christians to love all that was His, especially their fellow creatures.⁵⁸ For this reason Christians were to seek good for their fellow men in respect and kindness: "If God so loved us, we ought also to love one another."⁵⁹ "Thus it appears," said Balfour, "that beneficent love to men is at once a natural consequence and proof of knowing the love of

⁵⁶Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 165, col. 1, 166, col. 1, 169, col. 2.

⁵⁷Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," pp. 12-25; Thomas Bell, A View of the Covenants of Works and Grace (Glasgow: Edward Khull & Co., 1814), pp. 316-318; Basil Woodd, "The Plan of Salvation," The Day of Adversity (twentieth edition; London: Watts and Bridgewater, 1808), p. 29.

⁵⁸Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," pp. 12-13, 15-16. Robert Balfour, "Heaven and Earth Reconciled by the Mediation of Christ," Sermons on Interesting Subjects (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1819), p. 179.

⁵⁹I John 4:11; William Wilberforce, A Practical View (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden, & Welsh, [n.d.]), pp. 44-45, 159-161, 163-164, 176-177; Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," pp. 12-14; Bell, A View of the Covenants of Works and Grace, pp. 316-318; Balfour, "Heaven and Earth Reconciled by the Mediation of Christ," p. 211, in which he said: "Gratitude obliges us to publish and recommend the goodness of God, and the grace and truth of the Saviour of the world; brotherly love requires our closest attention and most active exertions in advancing as far as we can the best interests of our fellow men."

God, and loving him."⁶⁰ Anyone who did not love his neighbor could not be said to love God,⁶¹ for love of God and fellow men was the evidence of regeneration.⁶² Love of neighbor was not only the express command of Christ but was also the intended development of faith in Him. If the Christian truly loved God and his neighbor then he would carry the greatest good he knew, the gospel of love, to all his fellow men.⁶³ In this way he would be imitating the universal benevolence of God who pours out His blessings on

⁶⁰Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," p. 12; Fuller, "The Gospel. Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 169, col. 2.

⁶¹Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," p. 12; Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," pp. 13-14; George Burder, "Jonah's Mission to Nineveh," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. 42; vide John Erskine, Discourses (Edinburgh: D. Willison, 1801), pp. 402-416.

⁶²John Venn, Sermons (London: J. Hatchard, 1814), Vol. II, pp. 336-338; Thomas Scott, "The Rights of God," (London: D. Jaques, [n.d.]), p. 69; Thomas Scott, Theological Works (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1841), pp. 130-131; W. Carey, Enquiry..., p. 3; vide Balfour, "Heaven and Earth Reconciled by the Mediation of Christ," pp. 172-173.

⁶³Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," pp. 13-14; Address of the B.M.S., Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, Vol. I, pp. 8-9; Scott, "The Rights of God," p. 90; Horne, Letters on Missions, pp. 20-28, 31-32; vide Cecil, Original Thoughts on Various Passages of Scripture, Vol. II, pp. 159-163.

every nation without distinction.⁶⁴ "An inclination to conscientious activity," said Carey, " . . . would form one of the strongest proofs that we are the subjects of grace, and partakers of that spirit of universal benevolence and genuine philanthropy, which appear so eminent in the character of God himself."⁶⁵

Already it has been established that the leading figures--indeed, the great majority of those engaged in the awakening of missionary interest in the late eighteenth century--were Calvinistic in theology. Therefore, it is not unusual that the interpretation of this commandment for the cause of missions was based upon Calvin's exposition of the decalogue, which he believed was summed up in the whole law of these two commandments--viz., love to God and love to one's neighbor. Calvin stated that first our minds must be completely filled with love for God and then this love must promptly flow out toward our neighbors. In giving of oneself fully to God and one's neighbor the believer became the instrument of the Divine will and thus approximated the

⁶⁴Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," p. 15; Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 13.

⁶⁵W. Carey, Enquiry..., p. 3; Melville Horne, "A Sermon," The Baptist Annual Register 1794-1797, ed. John Rippon (London: Dilly, Button, and Thomas, 1794-1797), p. 249.

Divine character. From this Calvin developed his well-known doctrine of stewardship, a remarkable doctrine, because it was based upon love rather than pity. With regard to everything that God bestowed upon His people and by which they could aid their neighbors, they were to consider themselves His stewards, and therefore, bound to give an account of their stewardship.⁶⁶ Thus true piety and charity make up the Christian ethic; of these piety came first and was the grounds for charity.⁶⁷

Wherefore if we would hold the true course in love, our first step must be to turn our eyes not to man, the sight of whom might oftener produce hatred than love, but to God, who requires that the love which we bear to Him be diffused among all mankind, so that our fundamental principle must ever be, Let a man be what he may he is still to be loved because God is loved.⁶⁸

This reference is very important for the understanding of the evangelicals' Calvinism, that is to say, their Christian humanitarian sentiment was not based on any observation or judgment of man but was closely connected with their conception of God. In other words, there was a

⁶⁶John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957), II.viii.51, III.vii.4, III.vii.5, III.vii.6, III.vii.7.

⁶⁷Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," p. 12; A. Dakin, Calvinism (London: Duckworth, 1949), p. 50.

⁶⁸Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, II.viii.55.

theological basis for it. The main principle in the system was love of God, and second only to it was love of man.

It was true that during the missionary awakening the emphasis in the commandment was sometimes misplaced. This can be illustrated by one small word: the epithet "poor," which was used again and again in connection with the word "heathen." Thus it becomes apparent that the principle of love was often brought within the anthropocentric sphere, and was sometimes identified with compassion on the human level.⁶⁹ They were considered "poor heathen" not simply because of their poverty, but more especially because they lacked Christian culture and were without the means of grace that could lead to a religious experience. The heathen were the cultural and spiritual indigents of the world, who were totally dependent upon the Christian nations for the treasures of Christian culture and Christian religious life. From this position it was only a short step to feelings of superiority, and thus the desire to undertake missions primarily on a cultural basis seemed fitting. In this way the heathen might first be brought into contact with Christian culture.⁷⁰ Some even contended that the Christian message

⁶⁹Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 156-159, 193-194.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 194.

must wait upon cultural enlightenment before its truth could be properly understood and respected.⁷¹

Obviously, this anthropocentric emphasis lacked the stability of a solid foundation needed for the missionary task, and certainly provided no theological foundation at all. The missionary evangelicals were not especially interested in a theological mission, but they were aware of the danger of ignoring sound theology in projecting and justifying their missionary scheme.

At the time the London Missionary Society was formed, Greatheed made the matter quite clear. Following his summary of the moral law he said, "You see that the principle on which we are to act towards God and man is that of Love," because "Love fulfills the law: but to God it should be perfect, it must be supreme; consequently it must be limited and subordinate towards fellow creatures."⁷² Only a complete love of God could yield the right kind of love toward fellow men. "Religion and Morality," stated Greatheed, "so far from being opposite, or even independent principles, are

⁷¹Vide George Hamilton's speech to the General Assembly in Robert Heron [ed.], "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796" (Edinburgh: Alex. Lawrie, 1796), pp. 16-27. Hamilton in this speech said: "Men must be polished and refined in their manners before they can be properly enlightened in religious truths."

⁷²Greatheed, "A Mission to the Heathen Founded Upon the Moral Law," p. 51.

the very same. . . . Religion is the love of God. Morality, the love of mankind."⁷³ Love of God is primary and was indeed the grounds of Christian ethics. However, men were universally and continually prone to love the creature more than the Creator, which was idolatry. But Greatheed found the perfect rule for the degree as well as the nature of the principle of duty in the words of Jesus: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."⁷⁴

2. The Extent to Which it Must be Applied

As for the application of this commandment, Andrew Fuller had said that "the love of God is required of men without distinction."⁷⁵ Hence, it followed that men were also required to love their fellow men without discrimination. Love of neighbor, then, could not be limited simply to "brotherly love" but must be "applicable to the whole human race."⁷⁶

The Jews of Jesus' day confined the law of love to

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 51-52; vide Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," pp. 12-14; Matthew 19:19.

⁷⁵Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 165, col. 1.

⁷⁶Greatheed, "A Mission to the Heathen Founded Upon the Moral Law," pp. 48, 52.

the boundaries of their own nation with the traditional sanction of hatred for their enemies. But Jesus gave His disciples a much greater conception: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you."⁷⁷ The Christian was commanded to clasp the whole world in one affectionate embrace. Even enemies, strangers, the irreligious and profane were not to be excluded from his benevolent regards.⁷⁸

The Christian was of no specific country; he was a citizen of the world, and his neighbors and countrymen were the inhabitants of the most remote regions. This Christian was under the direct commandment of Christ to love his neighbor, which meant he was to love all mankind. As neighbors, the distresses of all men demanded his friendly assistance.⁷⁹ In reply to the question, "Who is my neighbor?" John Ryland answered: "Any opportunity to influence the happiness of another, let him be a Jew or a Samaritan, an African or an Indian, constitutes him my Neighbour, in

⁷⁷Matthew 5:44; Greatheed, op. cit., p. 53.

⁷⁸Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," pp. 16, 25.

⁷⁹Greatheed, "A Mission to the Heathen Founded Upon the Moral Law," pp. 56-57; Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," pp. 9-18; vide Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," pp. 61-157.

the eye of the great Lawgiver."⁸⁰

3. The Exercise of this Principle

Every command of Christ implies ability for its performance. With the principle of love for others as ourselves established in our hearts by the Spirit of God we are expected to exercise it to the extent of our ability as God gives opportunity.⁸¹ "But do we display this love," asked David Bogue, "while we allow gross darkness to cover the Pagan and Mahometan nations, and are at no pains to send them the glad tidings of salvation . . . ?"⁸² Greatheed believed that the men of his day who were qualified as missionaries should, on the basis of this principle, accept missions as their task. Or if this were beyond their ability then surely they had talents for instruction, persuasion, prayers, or contributions, and if they gave

⁸⁰John Ryland, "The Dependence of the Whole Law and the Prophets, on the Two Primary Commandments" (Bristol: Biggs & Cottle, 1798), pp. 4-5. "We are commanded 'to love our neighbour as ourselves;' and Christ has taught us that every man is our neighbour," said D. Bogue. "To the Evangelical Dissenters who practice Infant Baptism," p. 378.

⁸¹Greatheed, "A Mission to the Heathen Founded Upon the Moral Law," pp. 58-59; Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," pp. 20-21.

⁸²Bogue, "To the Evangelical Dissenters who practice Infant Baptism," pp. 378-379; vide Greatheed, "A Mission to the Heathen Founded Upon the Moral Law," p. 63; Horne, Letters on Missions, pp. 31-32.

according to their ability even if it were very little it would be acceptable, just as the widow's mite was more acceptable than the rich man's abundance because she gave in proportion to her ability.⁸³

This was the least Christians could do; when they considered that "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son . . ." what could they possibly withhold in the way of love and duty?⁸⁴ Those who loved the Savior knew that when they "were yet without strength, in due time Christ died for the ungodly." (Romans 5:6) How then could they be complacent while withholding the benefits of this

⁸³Greatheed, "A Mission to the Heathen Founded Upon the Moral Law," p. 59; Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," p. 17.

⁸⁴Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," p. 16. Bogue in his Discourses on the Millennium wrote: "This spirit of divine philanthropy produced and cherished and matured by the power of the sacred Scriptures on the heart, will work with energy on each individual, and diffuse itself through the general body of Christians over the face of the earth. It will deeply affect them with a sense of their obligations to bring all the Pagan nations to the obedience of faith; . . . to produce it, nothing more is necessary, but a right understanding of the principles of the Gospel, and a powerful impression of those principles on the heart;--for what are the ardours of zeal, and the labours of exertion for the conversion of the Heathen, but the operation of that plain yet forcible precept: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'" P. 532.

sacrifice from the ungodly of the world.⁸⁵ It could hardly be said of them as Paul wrote to the Philippians, "Ye were also careful, but ye lacked opportunity." (Philippians 4:10) "Opportunity is furnished to those who are ready," said Greatheed; " . . . no talent needs longer to be unemployed: here is room, here is a call for every one."⁸⁶

The Christian's task was to send the good news of the gospel throughout the world and endeavor in every way to meet the needs of their fellow men.⁸⁷ Considering the principle of love, this would only be in accordance with the words of the Lord when He said, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." (Matthew 25:40) This is doubtless what Melville Horne had in mind when he referred to the myriads of heathen in darkness and in the shadow of death in whom he saw "God

⁸⁵Greatheed, "A Mission to the Heathen Founded Upon the Moral Law," p. 59. "Alas! my brethren, we dare not abide the issue of the appeal. We have not done unto them, as we would, were circumstances changed, that they should have done unto us. The richest fruit of our philanthropy has been a cold, ineffective pity." Horne, Letters on Missions, pp. 31-32.

⁸⁶Greatheed, "A Mission to the Heathen Founded Upon the Moral Law," pp. 59-60.

⁸⁷Horne, Letters on Missions, p. 33; Greatheed, "A Mission to the Heathen Founded Upon the Moral Law," pp. 61-62; Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," pp. 27-29.

manifest in the flesh."⁸⁸

Many difficulties were to be overcome at home and abroad in the exercise of the principle of love, and even then success in the missionary scheme was doubtful. It was Ewing who pointed out the truth involved in the application of this principle. "Success, however desirable," he said, "is not at our command, but we are responsible both to God and to man for fidelity."⁸⁹

In summary, we see that the combined efforts of Carey and Fuller were successful in relating an important emphasis of the Evangelical Revival--namely, the duty or obligation of man to missions. Evangelicals throughout Britain soon saw the relationship between individual responsibility in matters of faith and the evangelization of the world. The duty of every Christian as a disciple of Christ was to employ some means for sending the gospel to all who were without it, at home or around the world. It was a question of positive obedience; there was no plausible reason for refusal to act upon the command of Christ. Carey had pioneered in the thought that this missionary undertaking was justified primarily on the still valid authority of the

⁸⁸Horne, Letters on Missions, p. 47.

⁸⁹Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 100; Horne, Letters on Missions, p. 44.

great commission and thus required immediate action. However, from the whole context in which obedience to Christ's command occurred, it never possessed the connotation of legalism with Carey and his contemporaries. It had the meaning of joyful duty. The evangelicals of the awakening saw their missionary task, not as a heavy burden, but as a God-given opportunity to give an affirmative answer to the commission of Christ. The principle of love also involved a matter of duty, but this was the lesser part of the commandment. The idea of love was one of the main elements of the evangelical religious life. The evangelicals saw in the concept of love more than a mere human quality; for them, love was a quality closely connected with their relationship to Christ. They knew that only by "looking unto Jesus" could they " . . . learn to grow in the love of God."⁹⁰ This expression meant more than imitating the example of Jesus; it supposed an existential relationship with Christ, by means of which the love of Christ could become a force in the life of His disciples.⁹¹ In obedience this principle of love became Christian action as a result of, and as a grateful response to, the love of Christ. Love, therefore, was a

⁹⁰Wilberforce, A Practical View, p. 175.

⁹¹Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 156-159, 177-178, 193-198.

gift, and at the same time a command to be exercised toward one's fellow man.

The evangelicals knew that a powerful love of this description was an indispensable element in the missionary attitude. Thus it may be said, in a so-called "aera of Christian benevolence,"⁹² that the missionary movement found one of its primary motives in the greater movement for Christian love and was therein justified.

⁹²Bogue, "Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," p. 158.

CHAPTER II

MAN'S RELATIONSHIP TO GOD AND THE NECESSITY OF MISSIONS

One of the most significant changes during the late eighteenth century was in the attitude of civilized nations to the native populations of the world. From the beginning a very low estimate was taken of the native's worth or capacity, and practically no responsibility was felt for his welfare. They were often treated almost as animals who were either to be exterminated or driven from the land, and the idea that Christianity had a message for them only slightly entered the European mind.¹ But many sensitive Christians were becoming concerned about the heathen of the world through the influence of the anti-slavery movement and from reports of the lives and experiences of men like David Brainerd and Captain Cook.

The Evangelical Revival with its emphasis placed so heavily upon the value of the individual was to some extent responsible for this change.² Past neglect in the care of

¹Arthur Dakin, William Carey Shoemaker, Linguist, Missionary (London: The Carey Press, 1942), p. 6.

²E. A. Payne, "The Evangelical Revival and the Beginnings of the Modern Missionary Movement," The Congregational Quarterly, ed. Albert Peel (London: Independent Press Limited, July, 1943), Vol. XXI, pp. 235-236.

the mentally sick, the treatment of the imprisoned and enslaved, the education of all, and the working conditions in newly developed industry was being partially replaced by compassion and reform. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries all of these things coupled with Christian missions combined to produce one of the world's greatest Christian humanitarian movements.

As might be expected among the missionary evangelicals this humanitarian sentiment expressed itself in concern for the heathen.³ Speaking of those "who have no Bible, no written language, . . . no ministers, no good civil government . . .," Carey remarked: "Pity therefore, humanity, and much more Christianity, call loudly for every possible exertion to introduce the gospel amongst them."⁴ The benefits of the gospel appeared in the social and civil life of those countries that received its truth.⁵ Human

³T. Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), pp. 12, 20-21.

⁴William Carey, An Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens (Leicester: Ann Ireland Booksellers, 1792), p. 13; William Wilberforce, A Practical View (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden, & Welsh, [n.d.]), p. 188.

⁵Carey, Enquiry..., p. 70; Greville Ewing, "A Defence of Missions" (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1797), p. 41. George Burder in his sermon preached at the formation of the London Missionary Society said: "Let Humanity join the christian

intercourse was changed by the charity it inculcated; the gospel even infused a mild and equitable spirit into legislation and civil government. The gospel would promote civilization upon permanent principles, and by it nations would be taught to dwell in friendship with each other. Christianity was designed to diffuse these benefits throughout the world, but these were the least of its blessings. The gospel not only meliorated the state of man in society; it saved his soul. It canceled his guilt, reconciled him to God, raised him from death to life, made him heir of the kingdom of heaven, and crowned him with glory and immortality.⁶

Certainly humanitarian motives played their part in the missionary awakening; the evangelicals, however, were aware of the fact that these motives took a subordinate place in the missionary idea and in themselves were not sufficient grounds for missions.⁷ The plan for the heathen was "to promote their present, and especially their eternal

in celebrating the praise of the Gospel. The Gospel civilizes as well as saves." "Jonah's Mission to Nineveh," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), pp. 32-33.

⁶Charles Hole, The Early History of the Church Missionary Society (London: Church Missionary Society, 1896), p. 651.

⁷Johannes Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love (Kampen: J. H. Kok N. V., 1956), pp. 147-149.

welfare."⁸ The accent was definitely placed on the eternal values of the Christian experience, but the "present" condition of the heathen presented a challenge, which could also be met by the gospel and for that reason should not be overlooked. Man's many needs were recognized but most important was his need for God.

This social-humanitarian concern was significant because it led the evangelicals to view missions in the light of a much greater truth--the brotherhood of man and consequently, man's relationship to God. The humanity of the heathen was no discovery to these men, but one can easily see how they lost sight of this fact when the heathen were being treated as sub-humans by colonists and slave-traders throughout the world.

The evangelicals came to view these unfortunate pagans as in a lost and pitiable condition, which, "instead of affording an objection against preaching the gospel to them, ought to furnish an argument for it."⁹ The case for missions was first stated by the founders of the Baptist

⁸Address of the B.M.S. to fellow Christians at large, soon after the formation of the Society, Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society (Clipstone: J. W. Morris, 1800), Vol. I, pp. 8-9; vide Burder, "Jonah's Mission to Nineveh," pp. 32-33.

⁹Carey, Enquiry..., p. 69. Carey viewed the heathen as responsible human beings which, as he said, "appear to be as capable of knowledge as we are." P. 63.

Missionary Society in an address to their fellow Christians, which read:

What pains and expence does it not deserve to attempt to rescue, at least some out of so many millions from ruin. Was man formed in the image of his God, and is it not desirable to endeavour to use those means which are calculated to restore that lost image? Is man the representative of Deity to the inferior creation, and ought he to be neglected and deserted, though in a ruinous state? Hath not God made of one blood all nations, and shall we not respect all our fellow-creatures as brethren?¹⁰

The evangelicals recognized that no matter how remote, uncivilized, sinful, and uncultured the heathen were, they were still fellow men. Melville Horne made this quite clear in his sermon, the first ever preached to the natives of Western Africa, in which he addressed these people as "Men and Brothers."¹¹ The heathen were also of God's supreme creation, created in His image, and yet fallen and separated from Him by their sins. These three facts concerning man's relation to God, though they did not play an independent role in themselves, were nevertheless a part of the evangelicals' justification of missions.

¹⁰Address from Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, Vol. I, pp. 8-9.

¹¹Melville Horne, "A Sermon . . . Delivered to the Natives in the Western Parts of Africa," The Baptist Annual Register, 1794-1797, ed. John Rippon (London: Dilly, Button, and Thomas, 1794-1797), p. 249.

I. THE ORIGIN OF MAN AND THE UNITY OF THE RACE

The evangelicals accepted the scriptural teaching that the whole human race descended from a single pair.¹² This was the obvious conclusion drawn from the opening chapters of Genesis. God created Adam and Eve as the beginning of the human species and commanded them to multiply and replenish the earth.

The narrative in Genesis showed that the following generations down to the time of the flood stood in unbroken genetic relation to the first man and woman, so that the human race constituted not only a unity in the sense that all men shared the same human nature, but also a genetic or genealogical unity. That is, to the evangelicals, all men were not only fellow men--they were brothers of one blood.¹³

¹²Samuel Greatheed, "A Mission to the Heathen Founded Upon the Moral Law," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. 49; Burder, "Jonah's Mission to Nineveh," p. 39; Address from Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, Vol. I, pp. 8-9; T. Haweis, "A Memoir on the Most Eligible Part to Begin a Mission," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. 161; Carey, Enquiry..., p. 62.

¹³Burder, "Jonah's Mission to Nineveh," pp. 31, 33; Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Exposition of Genesis," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 350, col. 2; Greatheed, "A Mission to the Heathen Founded Upon the Moral Law," pp. 49, 51, 55-57, 68-69; Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," pp. 41-45, in a footnote from the sermon of Dr. Hardy; Address from Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, Vol. I, pp. 8-9; Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 69-70; et al.

This was taught by Paul in Acts 17:26: He "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." The same truth concerning the basic unity of the human race was also evident in man's first sin and in his salvation through Christ.¹⁴

The creation of man was introduced differently from that of all other beings.¹⁵ It was described as the result of special counsel, and as though there were a peculiar importance attached to it: "God said, Let us make man." In creation man was represented as standing at the apex of all created orders.¹⁶ Under God, man was to be the lord of the lower creation and was given dominion over all the inferior creatures. As such, it was his duty to make all nature subservient to his will and purpose in order that the whole creation might magnify the Creator. Man was to be a distinguished link in the chain of being, uniting the animal with the spiritual world, the dust of the earth with the breath of God. The evangelicals could not avoid the

¹⁴Greatheed, "A Mission to the Heathen Founded Upon the Moral Law," pp. 55-56; John Hey, "The Fulness of Times," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. 80.

¹⁵Fuller, "Exposition of Genesis," p. 350, col. 1.

¹⁶Ibid.; John Newton, Hymn XCVII, "The Creatures in the Lord's Hands," The Works of the Rev. John Newton (Edinburgh: Peter Brown and Thomas Nelson, 1834), p. 602, cols. 1, 2.

question: should the heathen as men and brothers of so noble an origin be neglected in their dreadful state of sin.¹⁷

II. THE CREATION OF MAN IN THE IMAGE OF GOD

According to the Scripture man was God-related in that he was created in a perfect image--God was the original of which man was created a copy. "If God be immutable in his nature," stated Fuller, "that which is created after him must be the same for substance at all times and in all circumstances. There cannot be two specifically different images of the same original."¹⁸ This meant that man not only bore the image of God but was His very image.¹⁹

The image of God in which man was created included what was called original righteousness. Man was originally

¹⁷Fuller, "Exposition of Genesis," p. 349, cols. 1, 2; Address from Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, Vol. I, pp. 8-9.

¹⁸Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 169, col. 1.

¹⁹I Corinthians 11:7; Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 102.

created holy and happy²⁰ and in a state of purity.²¹ God created man "very good." (Genesis 1:31) Fuller believed that the New Testament indicated very specifically the nature of man's original condition when it spoke of man as being renewed in Christ; that is, as being brought back to a former condition through regeneration.²² In the same connection Erskine taught that the coming of Christ in the flesh was intended not only to restore to man the favor of God, but also to restore man's conformity to the image and will of God.²³ This restoration to the original condition was not a position of neutrality--neither good nor bad--but one of true knowledge, righteousness, and holiness.²⁴ These three elements were included in original righteousness; they were lost by sin but were regained in Christ.

²⁰Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems Examined and Compared as to Their Moral Tendency," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 54; Basil Woodd, "The Plan of Salvation," The Day of Adversity (twentieth edition; London: Watts and Bridgewater, 1808), p. 28.

²¹Rowland Hill, Thoughts on Religious Subjects (London: Religious Tract Society, 1835), pp. 47-48.

²²Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 169, cols. 1, 2.

²³John Erskine, Discourses (Edinburgh: D. Willison, 1801), Vol. I, pp. 355-357.

²⁴Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 169, cols. 1, 2; Fuller, "Exposition of Genesis," p. 349, col. 2.

Man, being a rational creature, was under the moral law. His relationship to his Maker necessarily placed him there, and he was bound to love and obey God; for if man were not bound to love and obey God, then to hate and disobey Him would be no sin. It was in this situation that man chose to disobey.²⁵ Man's creation in this moral image implied that the original condition of man was one of positive righteousness.

However, the image of God was not restricted to original righteousness, which was lost by sin, but included those things that belonged to the natural constitution of man, such as intellectual power, natural affections, and moral freedom.²⁶ Man created in the image of God had a rational nature, which he did not lose by sinning²⁷--which he could not lose without ceasing to be man.²⁸ This part of

²⁵Thomas Bell, Sermons (Glasgow: W. Allan, 1803), pp. 31-38; vide Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 7; John Newton, "Death by Adam, Life by Christ," The Works of the Rev. John Newton (Edinburgh: Peter Brown and Thomas Nelson, 1834), p. 781, col. 2; Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 168, col. 1, 169, cols. 1, 2; Fuller, "Exposition of Genesis," p. 352, col. 1.

²⁶Robert Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," Sermons on Interesting Subjects (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1819), p. 71.

²⁷Ibid.; Fuller, "Exposition of Genesis," p. 349, col. 2.

²⁸Horne, "A Sermon . . . Delivered to the Natives in the Western Parts of Africa," p. 250.

the image of God was impaired by sin but still remained in man even after the fall.²⁹

Another element included in the image of God was that of spirituality. God was spirit and if man were created in the image of God, it would be expected that spirituality would be found in man.³⁰ This was evident in man's creation. Horne, preaching in West Africa, remarked that God created man out of the dust of the earth and "breathed into him a heavenly spirit which was not made from the earth . . . but came from God," and that this "living spirit which God put into man, is what we call man's soul."³¹ This spirit or soul of man was the principle of his life; it was his very being.

Man, being created in the image of God, also possessed immortality. Carey spoke of the heathen as "fellow creatures, whose souls are as immortal as ours."³² It was understood that God alone possessed immortality as an

²⁹Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 169, cols. 1, 2; Fuller, "Exposition of Genesis," pp. 351, cols. 1, 2, 352, col. 1.

³⁰Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 169, cols. 1, 2; Fuller, "Exposition of Genesis," p. 350, col. 1; Horne, "A Sermon . . . Delivered to the Natives in the Western Parts of Africa," p. 250.

³¹Horne, "A Sermon . . . Delivered to the Natives in the Western Parts of Africa," p. 250.

³²Carey, Enquiry..., p. 69.

essential quality,³³ but that man's immortality was an endowment derived from God.³⁴ Man was created immortal in the sense that his soul was endowed with an eternal existence.³⁵ Horne in his sermon to the natives of Africa spoke of men whose "souls or spirits live for ever."³⁶

It is evident from the teachings of these evangelicals that most of them held closely to Calvin's doctrine of the image of God,³⁷ and consequently avoided as far as

³³Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Systematic Divinity," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), pp. 750, col. 1, 751, cols. 1, 2.

³⁴Horne, "A Sermon . . . Delivered to the Natives in the Western Parts of Africa," p. 250; Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," p. 71.

³⁵Address from Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, Vol. I, pp. 8-9; Woodd, "The Plan of Salvation," p. 28; Burder, "Jonah's Mission to Nineveh," p. 41.

³⁶Horne, "A Sermon . . . Delivered to the Natives in the Western Parts of Africa," p. 250.

³⁷Calvin taught that God in creating man animated a vessel of clay and made it the habitation of an immortal spirit; hence, man consists of body and soul. That man is immortal was proved by the fact of conscience which responded to the judgments of God, and by the features of the human mind which possessed intellect, ideas of rectitude, justice, honesty, memory, and the gift of anticipation. These were all included in the phrase "created in the image of God." But Calvin insisted that it referred primarily to the spiritual, and if anyone wished to know what man's original state was, then let him see what man is like following recreation in Christ. An examination shows that the image of God consists of knowledge, true righteousness, and holiness. John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957), I.xv.1, I.xv.8.

possible any appearance of holding contrary views. They vigorously opposed the Arminians and Socinians on the subject because in ignoring the original righteousness of Adam they felt that both the Arminian and Socinian positions minimized the fall and thus the effects of sin. Sin had corrupted the splendid image of God in man, and nothing short of a return to God could recover that image.

No longer could it be said that the pagan religions of the heathen were sufficient for them.³⁸ The truth was recognized and stated--all men were created in the image of God and were thus related to Him. Therefore, it was the responsibility of Christians to use the means at their disposal "to restore that lost image"³⁹ of righteousness and holiness to their heathen brothers in order that they might come to a true knowledge of their Creator through Jesus Christ.

III. FALLEN MAN IN A STATE OF SIN

Man was created in a state of the most complete

³⁸Robert Heron ([ed.]), "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796" (Edinburgh: Alex. Lawrie, 1796), pp. 16-27.

³⁹Address from Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, Vol. I, pp. 8-9; vide Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," pp. 102-103.

purity, and in this innocence he was a delight to his Creator. But presently he gave up God with the consequence that God gave him up to himself. "This," said Rowland Hill, "was the great curse that was pronounced upon man, when he fell from God. He became a horribly independent creature."⁴⁰

1. Sin in the Life of the Human Race

Carey devoted the introduction of his Enquiry . . . to thoughts on this subject of sin. For him the entire problem of foreign missions began with sin. When sin was first introduced to man the need for world salvation became apparent.⁴¹ Obviously, without sin, salvation--and therefore missions--would never have been necessary. With the sin of Adam, however, they both became inevitable,⁴² for God created him with the ability to choose for himself; God had given him that right. Freedom afforded exercise and enjoyment of all the mental and moral powers. It was in the exercise of these God-given powers that man chose disobedience, exchanging confidence and love for shame and fear and

⁴⁰Hill, Thoughts on Religious Subjects, pp. 47-48.

⁴¹Carey, Enquiry..., p. 3.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 3-6.

setting the powers of death in motion.⁴³

From the Scripture Horne explained the fall to the African natives in this manner: After God created man and then woman, He placed them in the garden of Eden where all their needs would be supplied but commanded them not to eat the fruit of a certain tree in the garden. Thus, God tested their love for Him.⁴⁴ The devil, who was the fallen angel, had already lost favor with God and had been cast out of heaven. Consequently, he hated God and also man because God had created man and loved him. By means of temptation the devil was successful in persuading Adam and Eve to take of the fruit, and thereby they disobeyed God's commandment and rendered themselves as evil as himself.⁴⁵

This was the essence of the fall, and for its repeated confirmation Haweis relied upon the Scriptures, in which he found the strongest assertions of the fact. In Genesis 6:5, "God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of

⁴³Bell, Sermons, pp. 68-98; Woodd, "The Plan of Salvation," p. 29; Fuller, "Exposition of Genesis," p. 350, cols. 1, 2.

⁴⁴Horne, "A Sermon . . . Delivered to the Natives in the Western Parts of Africa," p. 250; Fuller, "Exposition of Genesis," p. 350, col. 2.

⁴⁵Horne, "A Sermon . . . Delivered to the Natives in the Western Parts of Africa," p. 250; Woodd, "The Plan of Salvation," pp. 29-30.

his heart was only evil continually." And in Genesis 8:21, "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." From the prophets he referred to Jeremiah 17:9: "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked" and in the New Testament to Matthew 15:19-20: "For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies: These are the things which defile a man." In these and other passages human nature was declared to be evil, and therefore stood condemned by the Word of God.⁴⁶

There was nothing very unusual about the doctrine of the depravity of man, for it was commonly held among most evangelicals⁴⁷ and many others likewise, but it is important

⁴⁶Thomas Haweis, Evangelical Principles and Practice (London: J. and W. Oliver, 1762), pp. 24-29; vide John Love, Memorials of the Rev. John Love, D.D. (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle & Son, 1857), Vol. I, pp. 363-366.

⁴⁷Burder, "Jonah's Mission to Nineveh," p. 32; Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," pp. 7, 22; Melville Horne, Letters on Missions (Andover: Flagg and Gould, 1815), p. 21; Wilberforce, A Practical View, pp. 11 ff; Robert Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," Sermons on Interesting Subjects (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1819), p. 26; Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 173, col. 1; John Newton, "Motives to Humiliation and Praise" (London: J. Johnson, 1798), p. 12; Woodd, "The Plan of Salvation," pp. 30-31; John Ryland, "The Dependence of the Whole Law and the Prophets, on the Two Primary Commandments" (Bristol: Biggs & Cottle, 1798), p. 18; John Erskine, Theological Dissertations (Edinburgh: J. Pillans & Sons, 1808), p. xvi.

for this study because the doctrine was under attack and was being weakened by various theological and philosophical systems of that day. As a result of this attack the doctrine received a more than usual emphasis by the evangelicals, especially those associated with the missionary awakening, because of their far-reaching missionary application of the doctrine.⁴⁸

Within the ranks of Calvinism had appeared the perverted teaching of the Antinomians. Fuller described them as adherents to that system which "justifies the sinner in the breach of the law."⁴⁹ The name signifies "that which is contrary to the law."⁵⁰ They were so named because they professed to renounce the moral law as a rule of conduct. Fuller said that the Antinomians of his day affixed such ideas to sin as divested it of everything criminal, blameworthy, or humiliating. By sin they did not mean being or doing what they ought not to be or do, but rather sin was

⁴⁸Cr. post Sub-section 2, "The Universal Transmission of Sin."

⁴⁹Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Dialogues and Letters between Crispus and Gaius," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), Dialogue VII, p. 300, col. 2.

⁵⁰Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Antinomianism," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 338, col. 1.

something that operated in their lives without their concurrence.⁵¹

The nature of Antinomianism was to oppose the government of God by raising objections against it as being unjust. The government of God was the foundation of true religion and opposition to it must be followed by serious consequences. As Fuller pointed out, if there is no law, then there is no transgression, and if no transgression, then no need of forgiveness. Or, if there is a law that is unjust, then it cannot be sinful to transgress it, and the transgressor stands in no need of mercy.⁵² From this position Antinomians discounted sin in their own lives and found no great wrong in their fellow men.⁵³ Not only did Antinomians have no message of repentance for the world, but also they were an active detriment to missions by failing to see the need for such a message and by preaching a gospel of self-contentment.⁵⁴

The evangelicals also found the doctrine of man's depravity challenged by theological systems from without.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 338, cols. 1, 2.

⁵²Ibid., p. 338, col. 1.

⁵³Fuller, "Dialogues and Letters between Crispus and Gaius," p. 300, cols. 1, 2.

⁵⁴Ibid.; Fuller, "Antinomianism," pp. 335-338.

Fuller remarked: "I never knew a person verge toward the Arminian, the Arian, for the Socinian . . . schemes, without first entertaining diminutive notions of human depravity, or blameworthiness."⁵⁵ Of these three the Socinian⁵⁶ system seemed most dangerous to the doctrine of human depravity. In opposition to the Trinitarians, Socinians rejected not only the doctrine of the Trinity, but also the whole scheme of salvation beginning with the doctrines of sin, inherited guilt, and eternal punishment. They demanded as a matter of justice that allowances be made for human error and imperfection.⁵⁷

This belief was contrary to everything the evangelicals stood for and was much akin to the position of the Deists who had become so fashionable by the close of the eighteenth century. Deism had no place for human

⁵⁵Fuller, "Dialogues and Letters between Crispus and Gaius," Dialogue VIII, p. 300, col. 2, Letter IV, p. 306, col. 1.

⁵⁶Fuller chose the term Socinians rather than Unitarians, as they were often referred to, because he said the latter name was unfair and suggested that all other Christians worshiped a plurality of Gods, whereas the Unitarians recognized but one God. Fuller, "The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems Examined and Compared as to Their Moral Tendency," p. 51.

⁵⁷Fuller, "The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems Examined and Compared as to Their Moral Tendency," p. 54, col. 1; Fuller, "Dialogues and Letters between Crispus and Gaius," p. 300, col. 1.

depravity;⁵⁸ sins were recognized and would be punished, but punishment could be avoided by living a virtuous life and therein be pleasing to God.⁵⁹ There was no thought of sin which led to the fall of man and to human corruption.⁶⁰

The skepticism of the Rationalists, who went beyond the Deists in their departure from Christianity, allowed only a frankly utilitarian ethic.⁶¹ They had even less room in their system for human depravity than the Deists.⁶²

Another intellectual current that was undercutting this doctrine of man's depravity was Romanticism. Rousseau was the one largely responsible for the philosophical doctrine of the inherent goodness of human nature, which was so widely circulated in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁶³ Rousseauism, the belief in the superiority of the "noble savage" to civilized man, became more and more popular during this period; though Romanticism had

⁵⁸Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), pp. 984-985.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 984, 1004.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 985; Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "The Gospel Its Own Witness," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), pp. 8-11; Fuller, "Exposition of Genesis," pp. 347-348.

⁶¹Latourette, A History of Christianity, p. 1004.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 1004-1005.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 1005-1006.

many Christian adherents and was in a large part a reaction against Rationalism,⁶⁴ nevertheless, it served a similar purpose in respect to the weakening of the doctrine of human depravity.

Against these prevailing theological and philosophical conceptions the evangelicals upheld the doctrine of the depravity of man based upon the testimony of Scripture and evidence from history, observation, and experience.⁶⁵ Fuller even declared it to be total depravity.⁶⁶ However, by total depravity he did not mean that man was so corrupt as to be incapable of adding further sin to his already evil nature. Fuller meant that the human heart was by nature totally destitute of love for God or of love for man as the creature of God, and consequently lacked all true virtue.⁶⁷

Fuller had been directly influenced in the matter of human depravity by Jonathan Edwards, who was himself filled with the most profound sense of the heinousness of sin as an

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 1006-1007; Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 97-98, 153; Yngve Brilioth, Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 32.

⁶⁵Fuller, "Dialogues and Letters between Crispus and Gaius," Dialogue VIII, p. 301, cols. 1, 2.

⁶⁶Ibid., Dialogues VIII, IX, p. 301, cols. 1, 2.

⁶⁷Ibid., Dialogue VIII, p. 301, col. 1, Dialogue IX, p. 301, col. 2.

offense against the majesty of God and as an outrage of His love.⁶⁸ This doctrine was basic in Edwards' presentation of the gospel that had been so appealing to Fuller. They shared the conviction that whatever lessened man's sense of sin and guilt would obviously detract from his need of forgiveness and salvation.⁶⁹ Either directly or indirectly Edwards' influence reached many evangelicals of the missionary awakening in Britain.

2. The Universal Transmission of Sin

The universal transmission of sin was based upon the Calvinistic doctrine of original sin,⁷⁰ which had direct bearing upon each individual because of the origin of sin.

In his Enquiry . . . Carey stated:

Sin was introduced amongst the children of men by the fall of Adam, and has ever since been spreading its baneful influence. By changing its appearances to suit the circumstances of the times, it has grown up in ten

⁶⁸E. A. Payne, "The Evangelical Revival and the Beginnings of the Modern Missionary Movement," The Congregational Quarterly, ed. Albert Peel, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (London: Independent Press Limited, July, 1943), p. 235.

⁶⁹Fuller, "Antinomianism," p. 338; vide Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion, II.i.4. Note that Edwards' view of sin was drawn directly from classical Calvinism. Arthur Dakin, Calvinism (London: Duckworth, 1949), p. 30.

⁷⁰Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, II.i.2, II.i.5., II.i.7, II.i.8, II.i.10.

thousand forms, and constantly counteracted the will and designs of God.⁷¹

John Love gave this explanation: The souls of men were by nature "darkness" (Ephesians 5:8), previous to Christ's giving them light. Wherever this darkness was found, sin must have preceded it as its cause, since every moral creature was made to possess light, either in itself, or in another who represented it, and because no man was ever in this light but Adam, it followed that his being in the light and transgressing against it are reckoned to each individual. Therefore, men are now born in a state of darkness, which presupposes their having been in the light and fallen from it. They were born in the character of persons who have already broken the law and are forever unable to return to the former state.⁷² Or, to use Thomas Bell's figure, when the root failed the leaves shriveled and the branches died. In this way original righteousness became original sin.⁷³

⁷¹Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 3-4; vide A. D. Martin, Doctor Vanderkemp (Westminster: The Livingstone Press, [n.d.]), p. 41.

⁷²John Love, Memorials of the Rev. John Love, D.D. (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle & Son, 1858), Vol. II, p. 61.

⁷³Bell, Sermons, pp. 68-98; for more on this subject see: Horne, "A Sermon . . . Delivered to the Natives in the Western Parts of Africa," pp. 250-252; Woodd, "The Plan of Salvation," pp. 30-31; Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," p. 75; John Newton and David

Fuller was deeply convinced that Adam could not be considered merely as a private individual but must be viewed as the public head of all his posterity, which would involve all men in his sin and would condemn them to share in his death. "Such," said Fuller, "has been the character of all mankind; and such is the account of things given in the Scriptures."⁷⁴

The universal transmission of sin was extremely important to these evangelicals because of their application of this familiar doctrine to the heathen who were the objects of foreign missionary endeavor. From the evangelical point of view, if Adam's sin were passed on to all his descendants, then that would naturally include the heathen of the world just as surely as it included everyone else.

Carey wrote that from Adam down through history gross wickedness had prevailed and idolatry had spread even though God continually cut off those nations who were outstanding

Williamson, "Political Debate on Christian Principles" (Edinburgh: John Ogle, 1793), p. 5; Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 168; Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "The Reality and Efficacy of Divine Grace," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), Letter III, p. 237, col. 2.

⁷⁴Fuller, "Exposition of Genesis," p. 350, col. 2; vide Bell, Sermons, pp. 68-98; Wilberforce, A Practical View, pp. 18-19; Psalm 51:5; Romans 7:24; Romans 5:12; Hebrews 9:27-28; II Corinthians 5:21; Ephesians 2:3.

examples of His displeasure.⁷⁵ Sin led to infidelity among the uncivilized because of ignorance and among the enlightened because of wisdom, yet God continued to make known His intention to prevail over the power and works of the devil and to extend His kingdom as universally as Satan had done. For this purpose Christ came and died, that God might be just and justifier of all who believe in Him. He sent forth

⁷⁵Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 3-4. Carey's explanation of the progress or transmission of sin appears to be much akin to Calvin's explanation of the heathen world, which was based upon two doctrines--man's creation in the image of God and common grace. In the former Calvin taught that in creation all men have a knowledge of God and the germ of religion (Institutes of the Christian Religion, I.iii.1), but sin darkened this gleam of truth and man began to make his own gods and superstitions. (I.v.12) The origin of idolatry was in the desire to form with human hands an image of God as conceived by a sin-warped imagination. (I.xi.9) Calvin in the first book of his Institutes laid down a great missionary principle--man's natural instinct for God. Calvin wrote: "That there exists in the human mind, and indeed by natural instinct, some sense of Deity, we hold to be beyond dispute, since God himself, to prevent any man from pretending ignorance, has endued all men with some idea of his Godhead, the memory of which he constantly renews." (I.iii.1) Man seemed universally to know that there was a God, yet this primal instinct had been obscured by the universal spread of ignorance and wickedness. (I.iv.1) Calvin's doctrine of common grace explained the character and natural endowments of the heathen seekers of God whose desire for light was lost in the gulf between fallen man and God. (II.ii.13-15) Vide Samuel M. Zwemer, "Calvinism and the Missionary Enterprise," Theology Today, ed. John A. Mackay (Princeton: n.n., April, 1950-January, 1951), pp. 209-210. John Erskine in his Dissertation, "The Law of Nature Sufficiently Propagated to Heathens," written while he was yet a young man, stated that the wickedness of man did not altogether shut out the light of truth that there was a God who was the creator of all things. Theological Dissertations, pp. 237 ff.

His disciples to preach the good news to every creature, and they met with success as civilized Greeks and uncivilized barbarians yielded to the cross of Christ. Since apostolic times many attempts to spread the gospel had been made, but as Carey stated, a considerable part of mankind was still involved in heathenism.⁷⁶

According to Carey's figures more than half of the world's population was still lost in paganism.⁷⁷ He declared:

It must undoubtedly strike every considerate mind, what a vast proportion of the sons of Adam there are, who yet remain in the most deplorable state of heathen darkness, without any means of knowing the true God, except what are afforded them by the works of nature; and utterly destitute of the knowledge of the gospel of Christ, or of any means of obtaining it.⁷⁸

In opposition to those Romantics who said, "Surely, among these children of nature we may expect to find those virtuous tendencies, for which we have hitherto looked in vain!", Wilberforce replied, "Alas! our search will still be fruitless!"⁷⁹ "Wherever we direct our view," he said, "we

⁷⁶Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 4-5.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 62; vide Burder, "Jonah's Mission to Nineveh," pp. 32-33.

⁷⁸Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 62-63.

⁷⁹Wilberforce, A Practical View, pp. 14-15; vide Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," pp. 74-75, 77-78; Ewing, "A Defence of Missions,"

discover the melancholy proofs of our depravity; whether we look to ancient or modern times, to barbarous or civilized nations . . . the same humiliating lesson is forced upon us."⁸⁰

Moved by these facts as he had seen them with his own eyes in Africa, Melville Horne in his Letters on Missions wrote: "When we consider this deep spiritual poverty of a major part of our fellow men, we are admonished, that it becomes us to do something."⁸¹ In the last two sections of his Enquiry . . . , Carey elaborated on what he believed should be done: it consisted of organizing church-centered societies whose business it would be to select, send, and support missionaries who would go to the aid of the heathen with the gospel message and all that it involved in the way of salvation and deliverance from sin.⁸²

Perhaps to some degree the evangelicals felt it was their duty to repay the debt of wrongs inflicted upon the heathen, who had been exploited by the civilized nations. Carey saw it as a depressing fact "that the vices of

pp. 21-22; Burder, "Jonah's Mission to Nineveh," p. 32.

⁸⁰Wilberforce, A Practical View, p. 18.

⁸¹Horne, Letters on Missions, pp. 21, 31.

⁸²Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 67-87.

Europeans have been communicated wherever they themselves have been; so that the religious state of even heathens has been rendered worse by intercourse with them!"⁸³ In 1796 the Directors of the London Missionary Society wrote in the Evangelical Magazine:

Africa, that much-injured country, has been visited by Europeans, not for the communication of benefits, but to carry on a commerce which inevitably inflicts on its inhabitants the wounds of slavery and death⁸⁴

If the mission task were more difficult because of these factors, the evangelicals knew they had only themselves to blame. The men of missions accepted this responsibility with determination and set out to erase their debt by righting many evil wrongs. The matter of debt was only a secondary motive under the heading, the transmission of sin; nevertheless, it did function as a justification of missions.⁸⁵

At this point something more must be said concerning the Romantic movement and missions. Romanticism as a system of thought was opposed by the evangelicals for the reason already stated, yet because of the nature of the Romantic

⁸³Ibid., p. 64; vide Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," pp. 12-13.

⁸⁴As quoted by Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895 (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), Vol. I, p. 477.

⁸⁵Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 76; Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 150-152.

movement it affected the lives and thoughts of even evangelical Christians.⁸⁶ A new surge of Romanticism swept over the land as a result of the South Sea discoveries of Captain Cook and others. Largely through the writings of J. Hawkesworth the Romanticism of Rousseau was applied to these discoveries and popularized in Britain.⁸⁷

Thomas Haweis, who had long been the advocate of a mission to the South Seas and was doubtless affected by this movement, seemed especially optimistic when he remarked: "No region of the world . . . affords us happier prospects in our auspicious career of sending the Gospel to the Heathen lands; no where are the obstacles apparently less, or the opportunities greater. . . ."⁸⁸ But he also said: "The ignorance, the levity, the stupidity, the perverseness of the heathen, we expect to meet and overcome."⁸⁹ David

⁸⁶Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 153.

⁸⁷J. Hawkesworth, An Account of the Voyages, undertaken . . . by Comm. Byrom, Captain Wallis, Capt. Carteret and J. Cook (London: n.n., 1773), Vol. II; vide Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 153.

⁸⁸Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," p. 13. In this sermon Haweis also pictured the life of the South Sea Islanders with the very darkest colors. Vide Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, Vol. I, p. 101.

⁸⁹Thomas Haweis, An Impartial and Succinct History of the Rise, Declension, and Revival of the Church of Christ (London: J. Mawman, 1800), Vol. III, p. 349.

Bogue appears to have taken a more unfavorable view of the heathen world, but he firmly added, "Were it not bad, it would not require our aid. In proportion to its badness, are we called to help; and its extreme badness, furnishes the most powerful motive to exert ourselves to the utmost, for the salvation of their perishing souls."⁹⁰

Though there was a certain amount of Romanticism in the rise of the missionary awakening, for the most part the men involved in the movement were careful to guard against excessively romantic views.⁹¹ The evangelicals, especially of the Church Missionary Society, were fearful of a too romantic attitude; Thomas Scott of this society cautioned against "disreputable and romantic zeal."⁹² It would be entirely wrong to try to explain the missionary awakening as based upon the influence of the Romantic movement. These men of missions were too deeply convinced of the corruption of human nature to become doubtful concerning the need for foreign missions, or even to become overly optimistic as to view the heathen world as comprising only a slight need

⁹⁰David Bogue, "Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), pp. 134-135.

⁹¹Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 154-155.

⁹²Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), Vol. I, p. 77.

which could easily be met.

3. The Penalty of Sin

In sermons preached before the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in 1789 and the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1796, Robert Balfour made reference to the necessity of reaching the heathen with the message of salvation because their condition would condemn them to "perish eternally,"⁹³ or, in their sins they would be subject to "eternal punishment."⁹⁴ In his Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation, Fuller made mention of the fact that people in that day were "in the habit of pitying the heathens"⁹⁵ because they were dominated by abominable superstition and immoralities that would lead to punishment. He explained the reason for punishment this way: Those who were Calvinists believed that man was created holy and happy. Of his own accord he departed from God and became vile. God, on the other hand, was infinitely good and the moral center of the whole intelligent system. Therefore, man's rebellion

⁹³Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," p. 71; vide Horne, "A Sermon . . . Delivered to the Natives in the Western Parts of Africa," pp. 252, 254.

⁹⁴Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," p. 26.

⁹⁵Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 175, col. 2.

against Him was opposition to the general good, and if allowed to operate would destroy the well-being of the universe by excluding God from the system. Because this rebellion was aimed at the destruction of universal good and tended to universal anarchy, in this respect it was considered an infinite evil and deserved endless punishment. God's forgiveness through the death of His Son was the public expression of His displeasure with man's sin.⁹⁶

Eternal punishment of the wicked was a part of the evangelicals' theology and for that reason appeared in their sermons and other writings during the missionary awakening, but very little mention was made of the heathen in connection with punishment⁹⁷--certainly no more than would normally be expected. Hence, there is insufficient proof for considering these men as enthusiasts who were only zealous to save heathen souls from the tortures of hell. The evangelicals saw the sinful heathen as condemned to punishment, but this was never considered more than a minor

⁹⁶Fuller, "The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems Examined and Compared as to Their Moral Tendency," p. 54, col. 1.

⁹⁷Thomas Haweis in his sermon, "The Apostolic Commission," preached in 1795 at the founding of the London Missionary Society, in speaking of the "desperate" sinful heathen, said: "We are thus earnest to pluck some of the brands from the burning" P. 21. References such as this and those already given are found to be exceptionally few.

motive for foreign mission endeavor. Thus, it is pointed out that they made only passing reference to this doctrine in justifying missions. "The evangelicals were chiefly moved," declares E. A. Payne, "not by fear of hell--for themselves or for the heathen--but by gratitude to God, attachment to Christ, and love of their fellows."⁹⁸

To summarize, it would be difficult indeed, to estimate the value of the changing attitude of the civilized nations toward the native populations of the world during the late eighteenth century. The missionary evangelicals of the period considered all races of men, many of whom were nothing more than crude savages, as fellow creatures with themselves--their fellow men. This seemingly obvious truth would have been admitted by many people of that day, but their attitude toward and treatment of the heathen showed very few signs that it was accepted as a fact. Then, too, some doubted the potential of these most unenlightened creatures and thus doubted the success of and the need for such a missionary undertaking. A more important problem was not the doubts of many as much as it was the indifference of most, for most Christians had not bothered to apply to all men what they must have known concerning the brotherhood of

⁹⁸Ernest A. Payne, The Growth of the World Church (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1955), p. 71.

man. The evangelicals, however, made the application pointed and unavoidable and used a concept--brotherhood--that had become especially meaningful in the last half of the eighteenth century. But their use of this term was Biblical, with a missionary and not a revolutionary application.

For the sake of justifying foreign missions these men believed it imperative that the heathen be viewed as fellow humans with human capacities and responsibilities; otherwise, the strange, yet often evil, ways of the heathen would appear only as social errors that might easily be corrected, rather than appear as sin rooted deeply in the corruption of human nature and requiring salvation through Christ as its only cure. To this end the evangelicals made numerous references to the origin of man, which bore testimony to the fact of the unity of the race. But more important for their mission scheme was the emphasis they placed upon the creation of man in the image of God. If the human race represented a unity in creation, then all men bore the image of God. Yet to them it was a certain fact that this image in each man had been marred by the sin of the first man as well as by each man's own sin. Beyond humanitarian motives the evangelicals felt themselves greatly under the obligation to go to the aid of the heathen created in such a noble likeness and to use all the means at their disposal to recover

the lost image of their fellow men. The universal spread of sin had carried sin's penalty to all men; therefore, the evangelicals concluded that the heathen were sinners in the same way that all other men were sinners, and for that reason more than any other, they needed the gospel of salvation.

It was mentioned earlier that this matter of man's relationship to God as a justification of missions did not play an independent role in itself but was always closely linked to the soteriological justification. Taken by itself this chapter places undue stress on the anthropocentric element in missions. However, with the missionary evangelicals, the substance of man's imperfect relationship to God furnished only an introduction to the far more important soteriological justification of missions. This subject has appeared in a separate chapter for the sake of special treatment but can only be understood and properly evaluated in connection with the next chapter.

The sin of man became a justification of missions as it emphasized man's need for salvation. Thus, the sinful condition of the heathen led these men of missions, not to the negative aspects of punishment, but to the positive evangelical message which was their main characteristic, and which they were certain should be proclaimed throughout the world and applied to the sins of all men.

CHAPTER III

THE SOTERIOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION OF THE MISSIONARY AWAKENING

The center of gravity of the evangelicals' missionary work lay in the proclamation of redemption through the saving work of Christ, which was the solid foundation of all else. "If the human and social virtues were recommended, it was on considerations founded on the scheme of salvation through Christ. . . . Every thing else was preached in reference to him," remarked John Erskine in a sermon on the preaching of Christ to the Gentiles.¹ E. C. Moore reversed the situation when he wrote: "It is easy to see that, of this enthusiasm for humanity which marked the end of the eighteenth century . . . the outbreak of missionary zeal . . . was but a part."² Amidst attempts to justify missions accompanied by a variety of human considerations we always find in the background a purely soteriological emphasis directed toward bringing the heathen to salvation in Christ. Among the evangelicals the soteriological interest was

¹John Erskine, Discourses Preached on Several Occasions (Edinburgh: n.d., 1798), pp. 403 ff.

²Edward Caldwell Moore, The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1919), p. 43.

always prominent. V. F. Storr accurately remarked, "In the doctrinal teachings of the Evangelicals, Soteriology occupies the central place. . . . Their passion was for saving souls . . ."³

It has already been seen that the missionary awakening owed much to Methodism, early Evangelicalism, and the Great Awakening movements in America. The preaching of the revivalists of the eighteenth century was marked by a strong note of urgency, and their methods revealed a definite aggressiveness. These earlier movements were related to the new Evangelicalism in Britain during the period under discussion not only genetically but also ideologically. Both had a powerful soteriological interest; both put a strong emphasis upon the value of the individual soul; and both had a special place for the elements of feeling and experience.⁴ During the awakening this formed the core of the theological thought of the rather moderately Calvinistic missionary evangelicals. From the very beginning they set forth their intentions of faithfully bearing the saving truth of Christ to all men throughout the world for the salvation of their

³V. F. Storr, The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, 1800-1860 (London: /n.n./, 1913), pp. 67, 70; Johannes Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love (Kampen: J. H. Kok N. V., 1956), p. 158.

⁴Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 116.

souls.

But at the outset the question arises: Did the evangelicals believe that every heathen who died without the "saving knowledge of Christ" would be lost? They were too deeply convinced of "the wrath of God" and "the depravity of human nature" to agree with the Latitudinarian view that because "a man is to be judged according to what he hath," "the gracious declaration of scripture ought to liberate from groundless anxiety, the minds of those who stated, in such moving language, the condition of the heathen."⁵ In answer to this view Thomas Scott from the evangelical side later remarked: ". . . The anti-scriptural sentiment, that heathens . . . may be saved by their religions, if sincere in them . . . has cut the very sinew of exertion."⁶ On the other hand, the men of missions had seen too much of the greatness of God's free grace to state categorically that every man who lived outside the light of special revelation would be damned. "I am far from saying that God may not

⁵From the speech of G. Hamilton in the Church of Scotland General Assembly of 1796, Robert Heron [ed.], "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796" (Edinburgh: Alex. Lawrie, 1796), p. 19.

⁶Thomas Scott in a sermon preached before the C.M.S. from Proceedings of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, Vol. I, p. 26, cited by Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 158.

save some from among all nations, even though they have not a distinct knowledge of the Gospel: for God may do whatsoever seemeth him good . . .,"⁷ said Charles Simeon. To the evangelicals this was not a matter of speculation; they held to "the uniform testimony, that men all need a Saviour, and that there is no other name given under heaven whereby any man can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ."⁸ It is easily seen, however, that heathen life when viewed against the background of eternal damnation might lead to a speculative attitude concerning the ultimate state of the heathen and perhaps even lead to the question of the number of those who would ultimately be saved. But because the evangelicals knew of the grace and boundless compassion of God, they preached salvation to lost humanity on a broad foundation and avoided unbiblical speculation on the point.

⁷Charles Simeon, Horae Homileticae (London: Richard Watts, 1820), Vol. XI, p. 377; Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), Vol. I, p. 76; Melville Horne, Letters on Missions (Andover: Flagg and Gould, 1815), pp. 152-153. It is interesting to note that Baxter had expressed a similar belief a hundred years earlier. He said: "Yet am I not so much inclined to pass a peremptory sentence of damnation upon all that never heard of Christ, having some more reason than I knew of before to think that God's dealing with such is much unknown to us, and that the ungodly here among us Christians are in a far worse case than they." Richard Baxter, The Autobiography of Richard Baxter being the Reliquiae Baxterianae, Abridged from the folio (1696) (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1931), pp. 117-118.

⁸Simeon, loc. cit.

The founders of the various missionary societies recorded in their plans for organization the primary reason for their existence. Soon after the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society its founders addressed their fellow Christians with this statement:

The object of this society is to evangelize the poor, dark, idolatrous heathen, by sending missionaries into different parts of the world, where the glorious gospel of Christ is not at present published, to preach the glad tidings of salvation by the blood of the Lamb.⁹

The second statement following the naming of the London Missionary Society in "THE PLAN" was: "The Object--The sole object is to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations."¹⁰ In John Venn's "Account of a Society for Missions to Africa and the East" he stated that the first desire of the missionaries sent out by that society must be "to make known to their perishing fellow

⁹Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society (Clipstone: J. W. Morris, 1800), Vol. I, p. 8; vide the first and second resolutions at the Particular Baptist Ministers' Meeting held at Kettering in Northamptonshire October 2, 1792, Alex. Pringle, Prayer for the Revival of Religion in All the Protestant Churches and for the Spread of the Gospel Among Heathen Nations Recommended (Edinburgh: Schaw and Pillans, 1796), p. 37.

¹⁰"The Plan" as contained in the "Introductory Memorial Respecting the Formation of the Missionary Society," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. xxxi; vide David Bogue, "Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), pp. 124-125, 135.

sinners the grace and power of a Redeemer, and the inestimable blessings of His salvation."¹¹ Accounts similar to these already given may also be found in the first articles of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Missionary Societies.¹² All of these societies had as their principal aim the salvation of the heathen.

The missionary evangelicals were supremely concerned with the doctrine of the application of the work of redemption, which proceeded upon the assumption of the completed work of Christ as the Mediator and presupposed knowledge of God as the Sovereign all-sufficient source of the life, strength, and happiness of mankind. Man's utter dependence upon Him for temporal and eternal needs was the reason why he must live to the honor and glory of God. And because the evangelicals believed that Christ's glory was in the salvation of sinners, they were eager to extend that salvation to all the world's sinners to His glory. Since this soteriology dealt with restoration, redemption, and regeneration,

¹¹Charles Hole, The Early History of the Church Missionary Society (London: Church Missionary Society, 1896), p. 653.

¹²The formation of the Edinburgh Missionary Society as recorded in the Appendix of Robert Heron [ed.], "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796" (Edinburgh: Alex. Lawrie, 1796), pp. 66 ff.; William Chalmers, "Glasgow Missionary Society Quarterly Paper," No. I (Glasgow: Andrew Young, [1828]), pp. 1-4.

it could only be properly understood in the light of the original condition of man as created in the image of God, and of the subsequent disruption of the relationship between man and God by the entrance of sin into the world. Moreover, since this salvation of the sinner was the work of God and was known to Him from eternity, it naturally carried with it considerations on the grace of God and the calling of God for the redemption of fallen man.¹³ The purpose of this chapter will be to elaborate on these points as they were used to justify missions.

I. THE GLORY OF GOD

The theocentric emphasis, that is to say, the emphasis of the gloria Dei, became a powerful justification of missions during the development of the missionary cause. The idea of the gloria Dei was almost always present, constituting the silent background of mission work--very often silent because the whole Christian life was seen as a glorification of the name of God, which explains why the theocentric principle occurred in conjunction with other aspects of missionary justification, primarily the

¹³Vide H. Kraemer, The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1938), pp. 69-85. Kraemer's sketch of the Christian faith at this point proves interesting by way of comparison with the soteriological interests of these early missionary evangelicals.

soteriological. However, the glory of God did receive explicit mention in relation to the missionary task and was a mighty stimulus to action; therefore, it deserves attention in introducing the soteriological justification.¹⁴

This idea of the glory of God has always taken a prominent place in Calvinism: "What is the chief end of man? . . . to glorify God, and to enjoy him forever."¹⁵ Because of the strong Calvinistic influences present behind the missionary awakening, it is not unusual that the matter of the glory of God appears many times during this period.¹⁶ Carey in his Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens remarked that the salvation of the heathen would lead directly to the glory of God; he said, they "are as capable as ourselves, of adorning the gospel, and contributing by their preaching, writings, or practices to the glory of our Redeemer's name."¹⁷ In his letter "To Evangelical Dissenters who practice Infant Baptism" Bogue wrote: "We all know that it

¹⁴Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 156, 176.

¹⁵The Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism (Princeton: Franklin Merrill, 1846), p. 1, Q. and A. 1.

¹⁶Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 155.

¹⁷William Carey, An Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens (Leicester: Ann Ireland Booksellers, 1792), pp. 69-70.

is the supreme end of our existence, to glorify God," but he asked, are "our obligations . . . fulfilled, while we have employed no methods as a Christian body to lead our brethren in Pagan lands to glorify him also . . . ?"¹⁸

This subject, the glory of God, calls to mind the doctrine of providence, and here emerges that distinctive conception of God which is fundamental in Calvinistic theology--the sovereignty of God. Calvin conceived of God primarily in terms of will, supreme will, which was both law and activity. As sovereign he did not mean that God was simply the originator and defender of the moral and physical laws of the universe nor that He maintained His government in a general way. God was not only the supreme lawgiver and ruler, but He was also supreme in the realm of truth, in science and the arts, in the administration of His grace and mercy, and of all His gifts as well as the laws that men lived by or that operated nature. From His supreme will came every decree and divine action. But it was the law God gave to man as his way of life that is the point of interest here, for this law was the true way, the fulfilling of which

¹⁸David Bogue, "To the Evangelical Dissenters who practice Infant Baptism," The Evangelical Magazine, September, 1794 (London: T. Chapman, 1794), p. 378; vide Horne, Letters on Missions, pp. 51, 202; William Wilberforce, A Practical View (seventh edition; London: T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, 1798), pp. 81, 84.

led to the glory of God.¹⁹ Already it has been seen that this law consists in the love of God and the love of neighbor, which meant that the Christian would love and honor the sovereign God with complete dedication of himself, which would lead to loving concern for his neighbor. This was what Andrew Fuller had in mind when he said that the Christian "performs these actions . . . to the glory of God, (that is, that he may be strengthened to serve the Lord, and do good in his generation.)."²⁰

In Calvin's thought was the positive idea of a striving for the glory of God in the midst of the world using all the lawful means to obtain this ultimate goal. The same thought was vividly expressed by Melville Horne when he urged missions among the heathen for the glory of God even

¹⁹Vide John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957), I.xvi.1-9, I.xvii.1-12, I.xviii.1; A. Dakin, Calvinism (London: Duckworth, 1949), pp. 22-23; H. Henry Meeter, Calvinism (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1939), pp. 28-34, 65-66; Donald Maclean, "Scottish Calvinism and Foreign Missions," Records of the Scottish Church History Society (Glasgow: The Scottish Church History Society, 1938), Vol. VI, p. 12.

²⁰Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Dialogues and Letters between Crispus and Gaius," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), Letter III, p. 305, col. 1.

in the face of "the fiercest fire of persecution."²¹

To the evangelicals Christ's glory was in the salvation of sinners. They saw the whole plan of salvation as the praise of God's glory. Thus the great goal of their labors was the glorification of God through the salvation of the heathen. Robert Balfour saw foreign missions as the "opportunity . . . for advancing the glory of God in the conversion of Pagan idolaters,"²² because, as he said:

Not a single soul could be saved from eternal ruin, without the highest manifestation of the glory of God, and the most perfect vindication of the rectitude of the divine government. When Jesus finished the work which his Father gave him to do, he fulfilled all righteousness, and at the same time established the law. When he suffered and died for our sins, he satisfied, yea, and glorified divine justice, and obtained universal and eternal redemption.²³

²¹Horne, Letters on Missions, p. 158; for other references see: Carey, Enquiry..., p. 3; Wilberforce, A Practical View, p. 79; John Erskine, Theological Dissertations (Edinburgh: J. Pillans & Sons, 1808), p. 212; Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 165, col. 2; Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Reply to Philanthropos," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 214, col. 1.

²²Robert Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," Sermons on Interesting Subjects (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1819), p. 128; vide Robert Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," preached before the Scottish S.P.C.K. June 5, 1789, Sermons on Interesting Subjects (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1819), p. 51.

²³Robert Balfour, "Heaven and Earth Reconciled by the Mediation of Christ," Sermons on Interesting Subjects (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1819), pp. 197-198.

Other references on the same subject could be quoted at great length, but those given above will suffice to illustrate the point.²⁴

One further matter remains to be mentioned in this connection. The idea of promoting the glory of God was linked to the idea that all life here was a preparation for the life hereafter. The Christian was thus perfected by making his whole life and work subject to God's will. The calling of God demanded renunciation of self and conversion to the ethical life, which was only possible as a result of saving activity from within. This renunciation or self-denial as a positive value was only rightly understood in relation to one's neighbor and to God as it led the Christian away from the sins of self-love and toward the giving of himself fully to God and fellow men. Hence, the believer became the instrument of the divine will and so approximated the divine character. The asceticism of missionaries such

²⁴For other references on this subject cf. three missionary sermons of Balfour, Sermons on Interesting Subjects, pp. 29, 39, 47, 84, 124, 174, 184; Horne, Letters on Missions, p. 23; Greville Ewing, "A Defence of Missions" (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1797), p. 91; Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," preface, p. 151; T. Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. 5; Rowland Hill, "Glorious Displays of Gospel Grace," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. 93; Bogue, "Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," p. 121.

as Francis Xavier, David Brainerd, and Henry Martyn made an indelible impression on the evangelicals concerning the importance of self-denial in connection with missions.²⁵ In the conclusion of Carey's Enquiry . . . he wrote: "What a treasure . . . must await such characters as Paul, and Elliot, and Brainerd, and others, who have given themselves wholly to the work of the Lord."²⁶

These missionary-minded men were conscious of glorifying God in the total dedication of their lives--this involved personal service for the salvation of sinners, which in this case included the heathen, who in turn would glorify God in like manner. This several-sided emphasis was seen as the perfection of Christian character to the glory of God.

II. THE GRACE OF GOD

Andrew Fuller's break with hyper-Calvinism had followed his reading the lives and works of such men as Elliot, Brainerd, and others who preached Christ to the American

²⁵Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 34-36; Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 149-150; Ernest A. Payne, The Growth of the World Church (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1955), p. 24; vide Calvin, Institutes, III.vii.1-2; Dakin, Calvinism, pp. 211-213.

²⁶Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 86-87.

Indians with so much success. These missionaries "appeared to him, in their addresses to those poor benighted heathens, to have none of those difficulties with which he felt himself encumbered."²⁷ Like the apostles their work seemed to be plain before them. These things led him to the throne of grace to seek instruction and resolution. Fuller saw that he needed both; that is, to know the mind of Christ and then to openly acknowledge it.²⁸ It was largely due to the influence of the theology of Jonathan Edwards²⁹ and to a lesser extent that of the Marrowmen³⁰ that Fuller became the champion of the free offer of grace to all sinners. And in the years that followed he became one of the leading evangelical theologians of his period, a man whose influence reached far across the boundaries of his own denomination.³¹

Fuller considered himself a "strict Calvinist"--"one that really holds the system of Calvin."³² He said, "I do

²⁷Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," preface, p. 150.

²⁸Ibid., p. 150. ²⁹Ibid., p. 151.

³⁰Ibid., Part I, p. 153, col. 2.

³¹Gilbert Laws, Andrew Fuller, Pastor, Theologian, Ropeholder (London: The Carey Press, 1942), pp. 87-95; Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 117-118.

³²E. A. Payne, "The Evangelical Revival and the Beginnings of the Modern Missionary Movement," The Congregational Quarterly, ed. Albert Peel, Vol. XXI, No. 3, (London: Independent Press Limited, July, 1943), pp. 227-228;

not believe everything that Calvin taught, nor anything because he taught it; but I reckon strict Calvinism to be my own system."³³ Fuller distinguished two other types of Calvinists: the hyper or high Calvinists such as G. Bryne, a Particular Baptist who had carried supralapsarianism to its ultimate consequence, and the moderate Calvinists such as the Baxterians whom he considered half Arminian.³⁴ Between these two extremes Fuller steered his course, and with what he referred to as the doctrines of grace,³⁵ centered about the doctrine of the cross³⁶ through which God's grace was mediated, he challenged his generation by what may be termed his theology of grace.³⁷ Nothing was more central in his

John Ryland, The Life and Death of the Reverend Andrew Fuller (London: Button & Son, 1816), pp. 545-546.

³³Ibid. As these quotes indicate, by "strict" Fuller means strictly adhering to the spirit of Calvin's teachings, not total acceptance of his theological system.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 151, 168.

³⁶Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Systematic Divinity," Letter III, The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 743, col. 1.

³⁷John W. Eddins in his dissertation on "Andrew Fuller's Theology of Grace" states that Fuller's theology must be studied as a theology of grace in order to yield an accurate picture of the man and his period. It was his attachment to the doctrine of the grace of God that became the theme of his future ministry. Eddins gives five proofs of this from Fuller's own writings: "First, he recorded

theological writings than the grace of God. This can also be said of many others who were connected with the missionary awakening.

Charles Simeon, one of the most typical representatives of Evangelicalism in this period, had been in contact and harmony with John Erskine and other Scottish evangelicals, and had been influenced by Henry Venn of Huddersfield, who also belonged to the Calvinistic wing of the evangelical group. Simeon called himself a Calvinist, but

that his initial experience of God in Christ was associated both doctrinally and experientially with the concept of grace. 'I had then relinquished every false confidence . . . and approved of salvation by grace alone through his death.' Second, his daily experience of God as reflected in his diary affords numerous examples of his attachment to this doctrine. He records on September 10, 1780: 'Earnest in prayer with God, this afternoon. . . . I saw, plainly, that my salvation must be, from first to last, of free grace.' Third, his writings tend to liberate and establish the Calvinistic doctrines of grace by his rejection of the hyper-Calvinistic understanding of them. Fuller said, 'My change of view, on these subjects, never abated my zeal for the doctrine of salvation by grace; but, in some respects, increased it.' Indeed, he wrote of the scriptures as showing forth ' . . . the all sufficiency of the God of grace.' Fourth, Andrew Fuller faced eternity with no other hope than the grace of God. 'I have preached and written much against the abuse of the doctrine of grace; but that doctrine is all my salvation and all my desire. I have no other hope, than from salvation by mere sovereign, efficacious grace, through the atonement of my Lord and Saviour. With this hope, I can go into eternity with composure.' Fifth, that he conceived of the cross as the supreme revelation of God's grace is apparent in his approval of ' . . . salvation by grace alone through his death . . . ' John W. Eddins, Jr., "Andrew Fuller's Theology of Grace" (unpublished dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1957), pp. 8-9.

his Calvinism like that of many of his friends was more an accentuation of the element of grace in theology than an emphasis upon the specific marks of the Calvinistic heritage.³⁸ He believed in election but not in reprobation; he accepted "the uniform testimony of revelation . . . , that men are all in a lost and perishing condition;"³⁹ he also knew that man could only be saved by God's saving grace. This, Simeon believed, was the outstanding truth of the gospel; thus, when Wesley declared to him during an interview in 1784: " . . . I have no hope but in Him," Simeon replied: " . . . This is all my Calvinism . . . therefore . . . we will cordially unite in those things wherein we agree."⁴⁰

The grace of God in what the men of missions referred to as their "evangelical principles"⁴¹ based upon the

³⁸Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 118-119.

³⁹Simeon, Horae Homileticae, Vol. XI, p. 377.

⁴⁰H. C. G. Moule, Charles Simeon (London: Methuen & Co., 1905), pp. 100-101.

⁴¹See this and similar phrases in Joseph Hardcastle, Memoir of Joseph Hardcastle, Esq. (London: Alex. Macintosh, 1860), pp. 71, 114; David Bogue, Discourses on the Millennium (London: T. Hamilton, 1818), pp. 532, 541; Bogue, "Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," p. 148; David Bogue and James Bennett, The History of Dissenters, from the Revolution to the Year 1808 (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1833), Vol. I, p. 379; Vernon J. Charlesworth, Rowland Hill; His Life,

"doctrine of the cross"⁴² constituted the message they had for the heathen. Their conception of the grace of God freed them from the rigid bounds of any narrow theological system. It was evangelical Christianity loosely set in the framework of Calvinism that led evangelicals to their position on missions. For this reason a strong, well-constructed missionary apologetic was not forthcoming during the awakening to foreign missions. As far as the evangelicals were concerned their initial bold action was completely in accord with and justified by the grace of God.

1. Salvation by Grace

The ordo salutis describes the process by which the work of salvation, wrought in Christ, is realized in the hearts and lives of sinners. It aims at describing in logical order the various movements of the Holy Spirit in the application of the work of redemption. The emphasis is not on what man does in appropriating the grace of God, but on what God does in applying it. This is clearly

Anecdotes, and Pulpit Sayings (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1877), pp. 48-49; Thomas Haweis, An Impartial and Succinct History of the Rise, Declension, and Revival of the Church of Christ (London: J. Mawman, 1800), Vol. III, p. 343; Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," pp. 16-18.

⁴²Carey, Enquiry..., p. 69; Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," p. 132.

Basil Woodd's definition of the ordo salutis in his "Plan of Salvation."⁴³ The first missionary societies and many of their members individually published numerous theological sketches recording the "way of salvation"⁴⁴ as seen through evangelical eyes. For example, Thomas Haweis in his sermon at the formation of the London Missionary Society put forward the question: What shall be the missionary's message to the heathen? To which he answered: "The Gospel."⁴⁵ And again to be more specific he asked: "What then are the doctrines essential to the name of Gospel, which believed secure salvation, and which not believed, leave the soul sealed up under wrath, unto the judgment of the great day?"⁴⁶ Haweis believed the essential elements of the gospel were contained in any confession of faith in which:

Jesus Christ is the corner stone;--his Godhead and glory expressly defined;--his vicarious sacrifice in the human nature laid down as the sure foundation of a sinner's hope;--his obedience to death imputed to us for righteousness by faith alone;--his spirit communicated, as quickening the dead in trespasses and sins, and giving faith, and every grace, by his own divine inspiration;--producing righteousness and true holiness;--and

⁴³Basil Woodd, "The Plan of Salvation," The Day of Adversity (twentieth edition; London: Watts and Bridgewater, 1808), pp. 28-40.

⁴⁴Fuller, "Dialogues and Letters between Crispus and Gaius," p. 300, col. 2.

⁴⁵Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," p. 16.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 17.

leading infallibly to eternal life, the gift of God, through Jesus Christ. . . .⁴⁷

This and many other such theological sketches⁴⁸ were characteristic of these evangelicals and represent their claim to orthodoxy and acceptability in an age when evangelical enthusiasm still met with the disapproval of the majority of British clergymen. But more especially these sketches represent the evangelical message of salvation--they constitute the doctrines of grace.

These men saw their whole scheme of missions as being grounded in salvation by grace through faith in Christ.⁴⁹

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 18.

⁴⁸Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 167-174; Thomas Haweis, Evangelical Principles and Practice (London: J. and W. Oliver, 1762), pp. vii-viii; Chalmers, "Glasgow Missionary Society Quarterly Paper," No. I, p. 4; Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 9; Erskine, Theological Dissertations, pp. iv-v; John Newton, "Motives to Humiliation and Praise" (London: J. Johnson, 1798), p. 12; vide Memoir of the Late Reverend J. T. Van Der Kemp, M.D. (London: J. Dennett, 1812), pp. 8-9; Charles Simeon, "David and Jonathan" (Edinburgh: Schaw and Pillans, 1797), pp. 5-26; John Venn, Sermons (London: J. Hatchard, 1814), Vol. I, pp. xxviii-xxix.

⁴⁹Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," pp. 63, 126-128; Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 20; Balfour, "Heaven and Earth Reconciled by the Mediation of Christ," pp. 161-210; Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," pp. 21-23; Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 168-169; Woodd, "Plan of Salvation," p. 33; Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Antinomianism," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), pp. 343-344; Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 3, 78-79.

In his sermon "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain" Balfour said:

We are assured that he was the propitiation, not . . . [for the sins of Israel] only, but for the sins of the whole world. When he pleads the merit of his sacrifice by intercession for transgressors, he asks the heathen for his inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession. . . . The reins of universal empire were put into his hands.⁵⁰

"Hear him testifying," insisted Balfour, of "the infinite and universal efficacy of his death upon the cross. I, says he, when I am lifted up, will draw all men unto me."⁵¹ Upon the strength of this testimony Balfour believed that "the invitations of the gospel . . . [were] addressed to all without exception, commanding and encouraging the faith of the whole world, and promising present and eternal salvation to every believer."⁵² Without this authoritative message of salvation what could missionaries hope to effect in a foreign land but "the feeble effort of impotence."⁵³ If "grace be grace indeed, and life a gift"⁵⁴ the unreclaimed

⁵⁰Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," pp. 83-84.

⁵¹Balfour, "Heaven and Earth Reconciled by the Mediation of Christ," p. 168.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," p. 19.

⁵⁴William Cowper, "Lines Upon the Diffusion of the Gospel, and the Effects of the Doctrines of Grace," The Missionary Magazine (Edinburgh: Schaw and Pillans), August 15, 1796), Vol. I, p. 96.

inhabitants of the world needed to know about it for the obedience of faith.

2. Faith as a Duty

One of the first definite events that led to the foreign missionary awakening was the conversion of Andrew Fuller. The "high" Calvinistic doctrines that had molded young Fuller's thought were overcome by the importunity of his remorseful heart. Regardless of the outcome, he decided to cast himself upon Christ hoping for his soul's salvation; there was nothing to lose since he could but be lost. However, by abandoning himself to Christ, he encountered divine mercy instead of despair, and he found the peace his troubled soul had long desired.⁵⁵ Some thirty years later as Fuller reflected on his conversion experience, he wrote, "I had then relinquished every false confidence . . . and approved of salvation by grace alone through his death."⁵⁶ Thus the pattern of his life was cut by the working of divine grace, and, in the years that followed, his theological formulations based upon this conversion led him to break with his hyper-Calvinistic background and consequently laid the foundation for a mission theology.

⁵⁵John Ryland, Life and Death of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (Charlestown: Samuel Etheridge, 1818), p. 14.

⁵⁶Ibid.

Fuller had begun his search for doctrinal truth with a zeal that never abated even though the quest at the outset was accompanied by aggravations arising from a hyper-Calvinistic orientation. This system that admitted nothing spiritually good to be the duty of the unregenerate and, therefore, no preaching was to be directed to them did not agree with his experience of grace nor his desire to address the lost.⁵⁷ Because of this problem Fuller pursued his inquiries and wrote out the substance of what was later published under the title of The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation, or The Duty of Sinners to Believe in Jesus Christ.⁵⁸

To Fuller the issue appeared to be the same in substance as that which has always subsisted between God and an apostate world: "God has ever maintained these two principles: All that is evil is of the creature, and to him belongs the blame of it; and all that is good is of himself, and to him belongs the praise of it."⁵⁹ The carnal heart of man refuses to acquiesce in both of these positions, because

⁵⁷Eddins, "Andrew Fuller's Theology of Grace," p. 36.

⁵⁸Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 150.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 151.

this is the same as acquiescing in God's revealed will, and such action includes repentance toward God and faith toward Christ.⁶⁰

The Arminians accepted the blame for evil, but they felt no guilt for being sinners unless they supposed they could have avoided sin by the help of grace given to all mankind.⁶¹ The Antinomians felt no obligation for the forgiveness of sins committed in their period of unregeneracy. Confronted by these views Fuller declared: "Thus, as in many other cases, opposite extremes are known to meet. Where no grace is given, they are united in supposing that no duty can be required; which, if true, grace is no more grace."⁶² Consequently, in rejecting the first and second principles respectively, the Arminians and the Antinomians both perverted the meaning of grace so as to excuse themselves of duty.

The publication of The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation marked the beginning of a controversy on this subject that lasted the rest of Fuller's life. There was the notion in certain Calvinistic circles in England, reminiscent of the Scottish Marrow controversy of the beginning of that century, that the unregenerate had no duty to believe the gospel. Nothing, it was held, must be addressed to the

⁶⁰Ibid. ⁶¹Ibid. ⁶²Ibid.

unregenerate in the way of exhortation except what relates to external obedience. Fuller took sharp issue with this hyper-Calvinistic view. A representative opponent whom Fuller quotes had set forth this conception by a comment on John 6:29, "This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent." He had written:

The words contain a declaration that believing in Christ for salvation is necessary to the enjoyment of eternal life, and that faith in him is an act acceptable and pleasing to God; but afford no proof that it is required of men in a state of unregeneracy. To declare to unregenerate persons the necessity of faith in order to salvation, which is what our blessed Lord here does, falls very far short of asserting it to be their present duty.⁶³

But Fuller phrased the issue thus:

The question is not whether unconverted sinners be the subjects of exhortation, but whether they ought to be exhorted to perform spiritual duties. It is beyond all dispute that the scriptures do exhort them to many things. If, therefore, there be any professors of Christianity who question the propriety of this, and who would have nothing said to them, except that, "if they be elected they will be called," they are not to be reasoned with, but rebuked, as setting themselves in direct opposition to the word of God. The greater part of those who may differ from the author on these subjects, it is presumed, will admit the propriety of sinners being exhorted to duty; only this duty must, as they suppose, be confined to merely natural exercises, or such as may be complied with by a carnal heart, destitute of the love of God.⁶⁴

⁶³Ibid., p. 158, attributed in a footnote to "Mr. Brine, Motives to Love and Unity, etc., p. 42;" ibid., p. 151; Harry R. Boer, Pentecost and the Missionary Witness of the Church (Franeker: T. Wever, 1955), pp. 20-21.

⁶⁴Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 152.

The particular scriptural duty that Fuller believed to be incumbent upon all who heard the gospel was the obligation to believe. Man's destiny was determined by the manner in which he received the gospel of Christ. A reception of the gospel was called "believing in him," which leads to life; while refusing the gospel was equal to "rejecting him" and issues in death.⁶⁵ Fuller concluded that this matter was of no small importance or interest because, as he said, "There is not any principle or exercise of the human mind of which the New Testament speaks so frequently, and on which so great a stress is laid."⁶⁶

Though Fuller nowhere defined "duty" itself, his definition of the word as determined from his usage of it is understood to be the obligation under which one rests with respect to an authority.⁶⁷ When this definition was applied to faith, which was considered "a persuasion of the truth of

⁶⁵Ibid.; Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "A Defence of a Treatise, entitled, The Gospel of Christ Worthy of All Acceptation," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), pp. 196, 201; vide Erskine, Theological Dissertations, pp. 181-189.

⁶⁶Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 152; Mark 16:15-16; John 20:31; Luke 8:12; Matthew 16:16-17; Romans 10:9; I John 5:1,5; 4:15; John 3:33; 5:33,34; 12:36; I Corinthians 12:3; II Thessalonians 1:10; 2:13.

⁶⁷Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 157-167.

what God has said,"⁶⁸ then faith was seen as a duty. However, the hyper-Calvinists, as we have seen, denied that the unregenerate were under obligation to do any spiritual duties, including faith, since the unregenerate labor under a spiritual inability. But Fuller found that John the Baptist, Christ, and His apostles did not hesitate to address unconverted sinners in a most pointed manner saying:

"Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."⁶⁹--"Repent, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out."⁷⁰ And it appeared to Fuller that there must be a most unwarrantable force put upon these positive commands to make them mean any repentance and faith other than such as were connected with salvation.⁷¹ Therefore, he devoted the second part of this work to "arguments to prove that faith in Christ is the duty of all men who hear, or have opportunity to hear the gospel."⁷² These arguments were based upon positive scriptural evidence and formulated into six propositions.⁷³

First, "unconverted sinners are commanded, exhorted,

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 150. ⁶⁹Ibid.; Matthew 3:2.

⁷⁰Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 150; Acts 3:19.

⁷¹Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 150.

⁷²Ibid., p. 157. ⁷³Ibid., pp. 157-167.

and invited to believe in Christ for salvation."⁷⁴ This proposition was based upon the assumption that it was the duty of all who hear to comply with whatever God commands, exhorts, or invites men to do. The Bible abounds in such commands,⁷⁵ exhortations,⁷⁶ and invitations.⁷⁷

Second, "every man is bound cordially to receive and approve whatever God reveals."⁷⁸ If God revealed anything, it was assumed that the revelation would carry such evidence of its nature that any upright mind would be persuaded of its truth.

Third, "the gospel, strictly speaking, is not a law, but a message of pure grace; yet, it virtually requires obedience as includes saving faith."⁷⁹ All those concerned in this controversy were agreed that all mankind who have the opportunity of hearing the gospel are obliged to believe

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 157.

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 157-159; Psalm 2:11,12.

⁷⁶Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 157-159; Isaiah 55:1-7; John 12:36; 6:29; 5:23. On John 5:23 Fuller refuted Brine's exegesis which insisted upon the necessity of faith but denied it to be a duty, by appealing first to the nature of the question asked, and then to Christ's integrity in giving an answer consistent with the question. P. 158.

⁷⁷Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 157-159; Jeremiah 6:16.

⁷⁸Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 159.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 161.

it, but the question was whether the faith required by the gospel was spiritual or such as had the promise of salvation. If sinners were not duty bound to be reconciled to God, then to be unreconciled would be no sin because obedience and disobedience suppose a previous obligation. However, repentance toward God and faith in Christ are spoken of as exercises of obedience;⁸⁰ hence, they must be duties.

Fourth, "the want of faith in Christ is ascribed in the scriptures to man's depravity, and is itself represented as a heinous sin."⁸¹ If faith were not a duty, then the lack of it could not be charged against man as a sin, nor imputed to any depravity in him. No man is held accountable for not doing what is naturally impossible;⁸² " . . . but sinners are reprov'd for not believing, and given to understand that it is solely owing to their criminal ignorance,⁸³ pride,⁸⁴ dishonesty of heart,⁸⁵ and aversion from God."⁸⁶ The Holy Spirit's work consisted in part of convincing the

⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 161-162. ⁸¹Ibid., p. 162.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Romans 10:3; II Corinthians 4:4; Luke 8:12.

⁸⁴Psalms 10:4; John 5:44; 12:43.

⁸⁵Luke 8.

⁸⁶John 5:40; Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 162.

world of the sin of unbelief.⁸⁷ The distinction between the duty of believing the report of the gospel and saving faith, allowing only the former to be sinful, was not scriptural. The Holy Spirit not only convinced the world of gross unbelief but also convinced the sinner of his heart's opposition to the way of salvation.⁸⁸

Fifth, "God has threatened and inflicted the most awful punishments on sinners for their not believing on the Lord Jesus Christ."⁸⁹ Fuller assumed that the cause of God's inflicting punishment is the sin of unbelief,⁹⁰ which is a breach of duty.⁹¹

Sixth, "other spiritual exercises, which sustain an inseparable connection with faith in Christ, are represented as the duty of men in general."⁹² The principal thesis of The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation was to prove the duty of faith, but, in reality, duty extended to the whole of

⁸⁷John 16:8-9.

⁸⁸Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 163.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Mark 16:16; John 3:18; Luke 19:27; II Thessalonians 2:10-12.

⁹¹Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 163.

⁹²Ibid., p. 165.

spiritual religion. Fuller observed as he examined the Scriptures that the people addressed were unconverted sinners, and that they were exhorted to things spiritually good. Other spiritual exercises which he found were required of depraved man were love of God, fear of God, godly repentance, and humility. Everything that was right must be a spiritual exercise since the Scriptures promised eternal life to every such exercise.⁹³ Thus faith and all other spiritual exercises were to be understood in terms of man's duty and God's gift.

This section on faith as a duty is very important to this study for two reasons. In the first place, we have already seen that from the beginning of their friendship Carey and Fuller were in complete agreement on theological matters.⁹⁴ Fuller possessed the superior theological mind and had certainly opened the way for a missionary theology that extended to all mankind--to the ends of the earth.⁹⁵ But theological preparation did not of itself give rise to the missionary awakening. Fuller's new theological foundation required the missionary vision of Carey to produce such

⁹³Ibid., pp. 165-167.

⁹⁴John Clark Marshman, The Story of Carey, Marshman, & Ward (London: Alexander Strahan & Co., 1864), p. 7.

⁹⁵Eddins, "Andrew Fuller's Theology of Grace," pp. 267-268.

an awakening, and at first even Fuller failed to see the connection between the duty of faith and world evangelization.⁹⁶ It was Carey who compelled Fuller to make the application and pursue his thought to its logical conclusion. In reply to Fuller's proof "that faith in Christ is the duty of all men who hear, or have opportunity to hear,

⁹⁶It was only at the insistence of Carey that Fuller led the Northamptonshire Baptist ministers in drawing up the plan for the Baptist Missionary Society. It began at the ministers' meeting on May 31, 1792, in Nottingham when Carey was to preach. In his sermon based upon the two great maxims: "Expect great things from God--attempt great things for God," Carey urged his brethren to missionary action. But as the service was ended, neither Fuller nor Ryland made any sign of action, and as the ministers were leaving the meeting Carey seized Fuller's arm and pleaded, "And are you, after all, going again to do nothing?" "This was a creative moment in the history of Christ's Kingdom. Deep called unto deep. Fuller trembled an instant under that importunity, gesture, and heartbreak, and then his soul was stabbed awake, and the Holy Ghost flooded his spirit. He also heard 'God's sign in the heart of the world.' Often had he sympathized with Carey's propaganda, though too timorous for committal. Now he became convert and comrade, . . . He put both hands to the plough, nor ever thence looked back. He stood from that instant as Caleb with Joshua. They were two men with one soul: . . . When Fuller threw his inspired strength into the Cause with Carey, things changed, men yielded. Carey alone, the hare-brained enthusiast, the man with the bee in his bonnet, they could elude; but not Fuller and Carey." Fuller then proposed that the meeting be extended and "a plan be prepared against the next ministers' meeting at Kettering for forming a Baptist Society for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen." George Smith, The Life of William Carey, D.D. (London: John Murray, 1885), pp. 36-37; S. Pearce Carey, William Carey (London: Hodder and Stoughton, [n.d.]), pp. 84 ff.

the gospel,"⁹⁷ Carey's logic was unanswerable when he said:

If it be the duty of all men when the Gospel comes to believe unto salvation, then it is the duty of those who are entrusted with the Gospel to endeavour to make it known among all nations for the obedience of faith.⁹⁸

And secondly, the controversy over the nature of faith and its relation to duty concerned one particular group of Christians at its outset, but eventually had great practical results for evangelical Christianity. The controversy between the evangelical Calvinists and the hyper-Calvinists, with their Antinomian tendencies, among Particular Baptists of the period was not unique for the eighteenth century. The Methodist revival with its evangelistic fervor and, to a much less extent, the rise of the Evangelicals more from within the Church of England led to widespread and even bitter controversy. In the Church of Scotland the Evangelicals in expressing the Church's evangelistic needs often found themselves opposing the more rationalistic Moderates. Throughout Britain the movement for evangelical Christianity over against Rationalism, Antinomianism, and Socinianism was under way. Thus evangelicals shared similar problems, and even though their

⁹⁷Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 157.

⁹⁸James Culross, The Three Rylands (London: Elliot Stock, 1897), p. 79.

circumstances were different, Fuller's evangelical victory benefited them all. The birth of modern foreign missions came from within this evangelical ferment. The problem of faith and duty was significant because this was the controversy which contributed directly to the missionary awakening among Calvinistic Baptists and which quickly spread to the other evangelicals of Britain. More specifically, it was in this controversy with the Arminians and the Antinomians that Fuller freed grace from the charge of being the prerequisite of man's duty and showed it to be the act of God for man's redemption based upon faith in Jesus Christ--in other words, the duty of faith did not follow but rather preceded salvation. Upon this understanding of the relation between duty and faith in which the grace of God was shown to be grace, a missionary theology arose, which justified itself in Britain, India, and eventually throughout the world.⁹⁹

3. Problems of Predestination, Redemption, and the Free Offer of Grace

The teaching of the Scriptures concerning the grace of God stressed the fact that God distributed His blessings

⁹⁹Eddins, "Andrew Fuller's Theology of Grace," p. 70.

to men in a free and sovereign manner,¹⁰⁰ and did not consider any inherent merit in man;¹⁰¹ that men were indebted to a beneficent, forbearing, and longsuffering God for all the blessings of life;¹⁰² and especially that all the blessings of the work of salvation were freely given of God and were in no way determined by the good works of men.¹⁰³ This type of thought was typical of the Calvinistic missionary evangelicals. They accepted the doctrine of predestination and understood that it was based upon the good pleasure of God. They also spoke of election within the context of God's mercy, which gave various Methodist authors who concerned themselves with the missionary element in Methodism reason to assert that there was a direct relation between Wesley's repudiation of the doctrine of predestination and the missionary fervor of Wesleyan Methodism.¹⁰⁴ Findlay and Holdsworth attribute the

¹⁰⁰"On the Calls and Invitations of the Gospel," The Missionary Magazine (Edinburgh: Schaw and Pillans, November, 1796), Vol. I, Part IV, p. 199.

¹⁰¹Fuller, "Dialogues and Letters between Crispus and Gaius," Dialogue IX, p. 302, cols. 1, 2.

¹⁰²Balfour, "Heaven and Earth Reconciled by the Mediation of Christ," pp. 201-203.

¹⁰³Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," pp. 18-21; Ephesians 2:8,9; Romans 3:20-28; 4:16; Galatians 2:16.

¹⁰⁴Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 86.

Methodist interest in foreign missions to a universalist outlook, which in turn was a result of the "revolt from Calvinism."¹⁰⁵ In this they only followed the example of Wesley himself, who said of the doctrine of predestination in his sermon on Free Grace: " . . . It cuts off one of the strongest motives to all acts of bodily mercy, such as feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and the like,-- viz., the hope of saving their souls from death."¹⁰⁶ But Wesley's view was based upon a theological misunderstanding. Theologically, hyper-Calvinism had been mistaken for original Calvinism. It was this high or hyper-Calvinism prevalent in eighteenth century Britain that had no place for the general offer of grace. Salvation was limited to the favored few¹⁰⁷ who had received the certainty of their election by means of some mystical experience.¹⁰⁸ These were the "pseudo-Calvinists,"¹⁰⁹ who emphasized a

¹⁰⁵G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (London: [n.n.], 1921), Vol. I, p. 31.

¹⁰⁶John Wesley, Works, ed. Th. Jackson, Vol. VII, p. 378, cited by Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 86.

¹⁰⁷S. P. Carey, William Carey, pp. 10-11.

¹⁰⁸Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 86.

¹⁰⁹Fuller, "Dialogues and Letters between Crispus and Gaius," Letter V, p. 307.

supralapsarian interpretation of sin,¹¹⁰ followed closely by the doctrine of irresistible grace,¹¹¹ and who were thus inclined to Antinomianism,¹¹² a misconception of man's response to God's grace.¹¹³ They held to the belief that God would save the elect and damn the reprobate¹¹⁴ according to His good pleasure independent of all human factors.¹¹⁵ Consistent with this was the refusal to give a general invitation to sinners to return to God and be saved through Christ. Such a view of predestination eliminated that responsibility.¹¹⁶

It was hyper-Calvinism in the extreme with its double predestination, fixing the election of some to

¹¹⁰Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 167-169; Payne, "The Evangelical Revival and the Beginnings of the Modern Missionary Movement," p. 227.

¹¹¹Norman Wade Cox (ed.), Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1958), Vol. I, p. 54.

¹¹²Ryland, Life and Death of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, 1818 ed., p. 7.

¹¹³Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), p. 114.

¹¹⁴Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 169, col. 2.

¹¹⁵Ibid.; Payne, "The Evangelical Revival and the Beginnings of the Modern Missionary Movement," p. 227.

¹¹⁶Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 169-171.

blessedness and the reprobation or appointment of others to sin and hell,¹¹⁷ that Wesley so vigorously opposed and that he so wrongly mistook for Calvinism. There had been two distinct departures at this point between Calvin and pseudo-Calvinism. The first is to be found within the doctrine itself. Calvin did teach a double predestination, but in its ultimate form, as most Reformed churches came to accept it, he taught that election and reprobation were both related to two things--the hidden cause of God and the manifest cause in man. In election the stress must of necessity be laid on the former; however, in reprobation much of the stress must be laid on man's unbelief and disobedience and not altogether on a secret act of God. This twofold teaching, which is evident in Calvin, disappeared from the theology of many seventeenth and eighteenth century Calvinists, and reprobation was given a disproportionate place in their writings. For example, one of Fuller's opponents, Dr. Gill, said that reprobation was none other than non-election.¹¹⁸ It no doubt seemed logical to

¹¹⁷ Fuller, "Antinomianism," p. 342; Balfour, "Heaven and Earth Reconciled by the Mediation of Christ," p. 169.

¹¹⁸ Fuller, "Reply to Mr. Button" from "A Defence of a Treatise, entitled, The Gospel of Christ Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 200 (the quote here is Mr. Button's but the statement originally came from Dr. Gill); Arthur Henry Kirkby, "The Theology of Andrew Fuller and Its Relation to Calvinism" (unpublished dissertation, The University of Edinburgh, Scotland, 1956), pp. 188-190.

these scholastic Calvinists to balance election over against reprobation and place the total responsibility on the mysterious and inscrutable decision of God, but this did not do justice to the teaching of Calvin nor to the complexities involved. The place of predestination in the doctrinal system was the second point of departure from Calvin. There had been a displacement of the original order of thought in the sphere of soteriology. The doctrine of predestination in the teachings of Calvin originally had a subordinate place as a support for the assurance of salvation. But the attention drawn to this doctrine by the Synod of Dort, 1618-1619, along with its decrees helped establish a change. The doctrine itself became the fundamental conception. In other words, predestination became the primary consideration over justification; i.e., from the original view one could say: Because there is justification, there is predestination; whereas, the later view reversed this: Because there is predestination, there is justification.¹¹⁹ With this change the door was opened for the doctrine of predestination to gain a tyrannical dominance and spread a sterilizing influence throughout the Church. Fuller's attempt to soften the harshness of this doctrine was an effort to rectify the

¹¹⁹Reinhold Seeberg, The History of Doctrines, trans. C. E. Hay (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1956), Vol. II, pp. 421-424.

unbalance that existed. Since he found more scriptural emphasis on the grace of God in man's salvation than on God's election or reprobation of man, he was able to correct the abuses of hyper-Calvinism. And when Fuller spoke of reprobation as being a divine determination to punish sin in certain cases in the person of the sinner, he was laying the emphasis on the manifest cause in man, rather than on the hidden cause of God. Moreover, in his Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation, when he relegated the doctrine to a subordinate place in his theology, he was only recognizing the original emphasis placed upon predestination; and, in effect, he was reaching down to the roots and into the spirit of Calvinism to restore the much-needed balance, making room again for the offer of grace to all men, without which missionary work was indeed impossible.¹²⁰ It was this

¹²⁰Ryland, Life and Death of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, 1818 edition, p. 56; Kirkby, "The Theology of Andrew Fuller and Its Relation to Calvinism," pp. 188-190; Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 87; George Smith, Short History of Christian Missions (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897), p. 163. Based upon his review of the history of this matter Fuller wrote: "Neither Augustine nor Calvin, who each in his day defended predestination, and the other doctrines connected with it, ever appear to have thought of denying it to be the duty of every sinner who has heard the gospel to repent and believe in Jesus Christ. Neither did the other Reformers, nor the puritans of the sixteenth century, nor the divines at the synod of Dort, (who opposed Arminius,) nor any of the non-conformists of the seventeenth century, so far as I have any acquaintance with their writings, ever so much as hesitate upon this subject. The writings of Calvin himself would now be deemed Arminian by a great

misrepresentation of original Calvinism that compelled William Carey to publish his Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians and constituted the substance of many an evangelical Calvinist's disagreement with the hyper-Calvinist Antinomian error.

The missionary evangelicals believed that the doctrine of God's electing love, if rightly understood, gave all missionary work the comforting certainty that the grace of God was able to break all resistance, and that the eternal fate of the nations was not dependent upon man in his weakness but upon God who had shown mercy.¹²¹ These men of missions had obtained a better balance in their theology, and the doctrine of predestination again took a secondary place as their main emphasis was placed upon the grace of God in salvation. Most of the evangelicals of the awakening had little to say about election; much even of what Fuller said on the subject was expounded under the heading of particular redemption.

In the first edition of The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation, 1784, Fuller set out to establish the validity of universal gospel invitations in conjunction with the doctrine of particular redemption. Fuller maintained that

number of our opponents." Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 167, col. 2, 168, col. 1.

¹²¹Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 87; Fuller, "Antinomianism," p. 341, cols. 1, 2.

the particularity of redemption consisted not in the degree of Christ's sufferings, or in any insufficiency in them, but in the sovereign purpose and design of God.¹²² God was the author of every good disposition in the human heart. In all that He did, God pursued one plan or system previously concerted. Thus it followed, wherever good dispositions were produced, and men believed and were saved, it was altogether due to the appointment of God.

Fuller was certain the sufferings of Christ were sufficient for the salvation of the whole world, even if man's sins were a thousand times more numerous. Therefore, all sinners should be freely invited to the participation of spiritual blessings, but, according to God's revealed will, they would not be interested while they continued in unbelief.¹²³ However, he did not "consider the necessity of an atonement as arising from the number of sins, but from the nature of them."¹²⁴

¹²²Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 170, col. 2, 171, col. 1; Eddins, "Andrew Fuller's Theology of Grace," p. 177; Fuller, "Reply to Mr. Button" from "A Defence of a Treatise, entitled, The Gospel of Christ Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 207, col. 2.

¹²³Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 151.

¹²⁴Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "The Reality and Efficacy of Divine Grace," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 247.

Fuller advanced several reasons to undergird the supposition that Christ absolutely determined to save some men through His all-sufficient sacrifice.¹²⁵ When Christ laid down His life there was an absolute intention in His death. As a shepherd, a husband, a surety of a better testament, and a sacrifice of atonement, He indicated that a specified group was the object of His actions.¹²⁶ Since the effects ascribed to Christ's death, such as forgiveness of sin, do not terminate upon all mankind but on some of mankind, particular redemption was consistent. Then, too, the intercession of Christ did not extend to all mankind because His intercession was both founded upon His death and expressive of its grand design. Moreover, the scriptural use of "many"¹²⁷ as the object of His death indicated a specific group as the object of Christ's intention.¹²⁸

¹²⁵Fuller, "Reply to Philanthropos" from "A Defence of A Treatise, entitled, The Gospel of Christ Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 224-226; Fuller, "The Reality and Efficacy of Divine Grace," pp. 249-251.

¹²⁶Fuller, "Reply to Philanthropos" from "A Defence of A Treatise, entitled, The Gospel of Christ Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 224, cols. 1,2.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 225, col. 1; Isaiah 53:11-12.

¹²⁸Fuller was asked by a friend what the difference was between this and election. He replied that election and particular redemption "are so connected that the validity of the one stands or falls with that of the other." "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 170, col. 2; Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Conversation on Particular

These and other reasons induced Fuller to maintain that there was a certain, and consequently limited, design in the death of Christ, which secured the salvation of all those, and only those, who were finally saved.¹²⁹ Fuller saw "no contradiction between this peculiarity of design in the death of Christ, and a universal obligation on those who hear the gospel to believe in him, or a universal invitation being addressed to them."¹³⁰ God, through the atonement of Christ, promised salvation to all who complied with the gospel. Therefore, exhortations and invitations to believe and be saved were consistent, if there were no natural impossibility or obstruction to compliance. The duty of ministers was to preach the gospel to sinners with no more regard to particular redemption than to election. They were both secret things and belonged to Him alone. They were a rule for God but not for man. It would be inconsistent to call on sinners to believe something that concerned the particular design of Christ to save them. Nowhere in the Scriptures were they exhorted or invited to believe anything

Redemption," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 315, col. 2.

¹²⁹Fuller, "Reply to Philanthropos" from "A Defence of A Treatise, entitled, The Gospel of Christ Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 226, col. 1.

¹³⁰Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 171, col. 1.

but what was revealed. Whoever believed in Jesus must believe in Him as He was revealed in the gospel, as the Savior of sinners, and only as a sinner could man approach Him.¹³¹ Therefore, the minister's message was the gospel, through which God called upon all men to believe that "there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved, but only of Jesus Christ, through whom salvation is preached."¹³²

But the greater part of the world had never heard the gospel; the greater part of those who had, disregarded it; and those who believed were taught to ascribe their salvation and faith to the free gift of God. In Fuller's view "the work of turning a sinner's heart must be altogether of God and of free grace."¹³³ Nevertheless, the death of Christ opened a door of hope to sinners of the human race and afforded a ground for their being invited, without distinction, to believe and be saved.¹³⁴

¹³¹Ibid., pp. 170-171. When Rowland Hill was asked by the hyper-Calvinists why he did not preach to the elect only, he said, "I don't know them, or I would preach to them." Charlesworth, Rowland Hill; His Life, Anecdotes, and Pulpit Sayings, p. 34.

¹³²Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 171, col. 2.

¹³³Fuller, "Dialogues and Letters between Crispus and Gaius," Letter IV, p. 306, col. 1.

¹³⁴Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," p. 171, col. 1.

III. THE CALLING OF GOD

The proclamation of the free grace of God to a lost world by the missionary evangelicals was a vital part of God's plan of calling the ends of the earth to repentance and salvation. There was, of course, the call that came to all men through God's general revelation, a revelation of God as the Creator. This revelation came to men in things rather than in words, in nature and history, in the environment in which they lived, and in the experiences and vicissitudes of their lives. But this call knew nothing of Christ, and therefore, could never lead to salvation.¹³⁵ Thus, these evangelicals remained constant in their belief that the heathen--that all men--needed the specific means of grace to be saved.

1. Means of Grace

The problem behind the writing of Carey's Enquiry . . . as it was stated in the title was whether to "Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens"¹³⁶ or to neglect such means as were already supplied. It was the use of means in opposition to passive indifference that had stimulated Carey

¹³⁵W. Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 62-63; vide Erskine, Theological Dissertations, Dis. IV, "The Law of Nature sufficiently propagated to Heathens," pp. 230-236.

¹³⁶W. Carey, Enquiry..., title page.

to make this enquiry in the first place; he was dominated by the conviction that unless the God-appointed means were used the heathen would never know of God's way of salvation. And what were these means? According to the usage of Carey and numerous other missionary evangelicals the means of grace were the revelation of God in Christ Jesus and the faithful proclamation of this gospel by men called and sent out for that purpose.¹³⁷ With Carey it was a matter of direct obedience to the commandment of Christ which required "a diligent use of those means,"¹³⁸ that is, "all . . . means"¹³⁹ furnished by God for the salvation of His

¹³⁷W. Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 7, 13, 73. It should be pointed out here that Carey and many others connected with the missionary awakening referred to the doctrine of the means of grace in a rather general sense. Primarily, by means of grace, they meant the Word (or the preached Word). But it is clear from various references that they also implied the sacraments as well as the Word, which constitutes the complete doctrine in its more restricted sense. Strictly speaking, only the Word and the sacraments can be regarded as means of grace; however, in their less technical reference to this doctrine they occasionally included such things as prayer (vide W. Carey, Enquiry..., p. 77), the church (vide Balfour, "Heaven and Earth Reconciled by the Mediation of Christ," pp. 177-181), and even printing (vide Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 90). It is because of their general use of this doctrine that it appears here under soteriology as the means of grace for the purpose of salvation. Their missionary application of this doctrine basically concerned the preaching of the Word of God for the salvation of the heathen. This doctrine in its ecclesiological aspects will appear in Part II, Chapter IV, under Ecclesiology and Missions.

¹³⁸Carey, Enquiry..., p. 80. ¹³⁹Ibid., p. 75.

creatures.

It seemed to Thomas Scott that anyone who seriously reflected on the powers of human nature would acknowledge that man was formed capable of religion and had an inward desire to worship some superior being on whom his safety and happiness depended. But the state of the world where the Bible was unknown proved that man was incapable of discovering for himself a religion which was worthy of God and suited to man's needs and desires. The shortness of life and the general persuasion of a future state combined to show that man's great concern lay in another world. Yet, the uncertainty of man's reasoning on these subjects led to numerous errors and absurdities.¹⁴⁰ There was, however, only one book in the world that appeared to be a true revelation from God. It stood the test of the ages even under the most severe scrutiny, and serious inquirers obtained deep convictions of its authenticity. The Bible was the revelation of the God of Truth,¹⁴¹ and contained the things that were absolutely necessary to salvation, which were few, simple, and understandable even to the most

¹⁴⁰Thomas Scott, Theological Works (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1841), p. 163.

¹⁴¹Ibid., pp. 163-164.

unenlightened.¹⁴² For this reason the evangelicals insisted that the Bible must accompany the missionary and his preaching. Missionaries could make the heathen acquainted with the will of God by means of the Bible, and then "as soon as they are capable of reading," added Balfour, they should "put the scriptures into their hands, to let them see with their own eyes, hear with their own ears, and judge what we say, concerning God, and Christ, and eternal life."¹⁴³

After Jesus had given the commission to His disciples and they had received power, Christianity grew rapidly because of their faithful preaching of the gospel. The

¹⁴²Scott, Theological Works, p. 170. In the background of this emphasis upon the Scriptures was the teaching of Calvin. The Bible was Calvin's rule of faith and practice in everything; he considered it the very Word received from the mouth of God but through the ministry of men. They wrote as organs of the Holy Spirit and not of themselves; thus, the diversity of the human authors disappeared for Calvin before the unity of the Spirit, the sole responsible author of Scripture. The Bible came to men embodying the Word of God as if the living words of God Himself were heard in it; for this reason it deserved the same reverence as God. Cf. Calvin, Institutes, I.vi.2; I.vii.1; IV.viii.5; IV.viii.9; I.vi.3; III.ii.7; IV.xix.9; III.xxi.2; IV.x.7; IV.xviii.12; Meeter, Calvinism, pp. 96-99; Hugh Vernon White, A Theology for Christian Missions (New York: Willett, Clark & Company, 1937), pp. 95-96; Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895 (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), Vol. I, p. 48; Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield, Calvin and Calvinism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1931), pp. 60-70. And if God were the universal Sovereign then His Word was law and must be considered the only rule for the conduct of all His creatures. In this sense the Bible as the Word of God was most significant for missions.

¹⁴³Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," p. 89.

missionary evangelicals believed that the situation remained unchanged. "Brethren," said Haweis, "our whole success will depend upon this one point;--if Christ be preached,--only preached,--always preached,--then shall we see the power of his death and resurrection, and the Lord will add again daily to his church of such as shall be saved."¹⁴⁴

As these evangelicals saw it, preaching God's Word wherever He called them to bear such a witness was plainly God's plan for "the calling of the Gentiles."¹⁴⁵ The calling of God to repentance and faith in Christ for forgiveness of sin and salvation was mediated by the preaching of the gospel. It was such conviction as this that compelled Melville Horne to urge all ministers together with himself to "consider it as our indispensable duty to do all that lies in our power, to preach the gospel to every creature,"¹⁴⁶ because no one who had heard the gospel--the call of God--was excluded from the scope of its redemption

¹⁴⁴Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," p. 19. Concerning this subject in the same sermon Haweis said: "We appeal to the experience of all ages, what ever did, or ever can control the unruly wills and affections of sinful men, but the preaching of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . Without this, what could a missionary effect in a heathen land?" P. 19.

¹⁴⁵"On the Calls and Invitations of the Gospel," p. 203.

¹⁴⁶Horne, Letters on Missions, p. 44.

unless he excluded himself by unbelief.¹⁴⁷ But, as Fuller remarked, "If men are totally alienated from God, all desire after him must be extinct; and all the warnings, invitations, or expostulations of the word will be ineffectual."¹⁴⁸ Though the gospel must be proclaimed to all, not all would be saved, because the calling of God became effectual when the gospel was believed and Christ was accepted upon faith.¹⁴⁹

All the means and influence necessary for the accomplishment of missions to the heathen were promised and provided by God, and though they were neglected they had

¹⁴⁷Balfour, "Heaven and Earth Reconciled by the Mediation of Christ," pp. 167-168. In Fuller's Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation, we see the influences of the Marrow men such as Boston and the Erskines who in the early eighteenth century had defended the indiscriminate invitation to salvation over against those of the Scottish Church who had denied the free offer of salvation altogether and others who wanted to limit it to the confines of the visible Church. Those who maintained the universal offer were called preachers of the New Light. Under the influence of these preachers Fuller stated that "a universal invitation" should be made, because "any man that owns himself a sinner hath as fair a ground for his faith as any one in the world that hath not yet believed;" and "when God calleth upon men to believe . . . [it is] only . . . [in] Jesus Christ, through whom salvation is preached." p. 171, cols. 1,2.

¹⁴⁸Fuller, "Dialogues and Letters between Crispus and Gaius," Letter IV, p. 306, col. 1.

¹⁴⁹"On the Calls and Invitations of the Gospel," p. 204.

been tried and proven ages ago.¹⁵⁰ Thus, it was stated with confidence: "As God is unchangeable, and as mankind, in all ages, are radically the same, there is reason to believe, that the means which were effectual once, will be effectual again."¹⁵¹ But it required that Christians be possessed of the spirit of Christ and be found faithful in His service, for Christian benevolence "eagerly seizes every opportunity of sending to others the word of salvation . . . , to those who . . . perish for lack of knowledge."¹⁵² To the

¹⁵⁰Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," p. 79.

¹⁵¹Onesimus, "An Essay on the Means by which the Gospel was Originally Propagated in the World," The Missionary Magazine (Edinburgh: Schaw and Pillans, July, 1796), Vol. I, p. 5; vide Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," p. 100.

¹⁵²Robert Balfour, "Liberal Charity Stated and Recommended on the Principles of the Gospel," Sermons on Interesting Subjects (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1819), p. 29. It is worthy of our attention to note that the all but obscure Robert Millar of Paisley, Scotland, three quarters of a century earlier had concluded his History of the Propagation of Christianity with a very accurate statement of the primary motive of missions, and though his contribution appears to have been lost to the missionary awakening the central motive was, nevertheless, rediscovered by the evangelicals of the late eighteenth century. In the final paragraph of his work Millar wrote: "Can any momentary hardships we can endure for propagating His name over the world be compared with what He did and suffered for us? . . . Should not zeal for the glory of our God, desire for the salvation of precious and immortal souls, perishing under darkness and infidelity, and a pious concern for our Saviour's Kingdom, animate us with a holy warmth in this matter, That there may be one Fold and one Shepherd; that God even our God, may

evangelicals the gospel was the justification and at the same time the message of missions. Or, to put it another way, they saw that the gospel message was its own justification as a missionary message because of the nature of its universal truth, which was applicable to all men and necessary for their salvation.¹⁵³

2. New Life in Christ

Wherever true faith was wrought in man it came by the hearing of the Word of God, which, together with the operation of the Holy Spirit, regenerated man by freeing him from the bondage of sin and causing him to live a new life in Christ. This constituted the substance of regeneration as the evangelicals preached it in Britain; and because God's methods did not change, and because "there is no other gospel for the heathen,"¹⁵⁴ they believed that the gospel

bless us, and all the ends of the earth may fear him. Amen." John Foster, "A Scottish Contributor to the Missionary Awakening: Robert Millar of Paisley," The International Review of Missions (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), Vol. 37, p. 145.

¹⁵³Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," pp. 16, 21; Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," pp. 63, 142; Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 19; George Burder, "Jonah's Mission to Nineveh," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. 32.

¹⁵⁴Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," pp. 89-90.

was worthy to be preached and would sufficiently save any man.

When Jesus spoke with Nicodemus He informed him that he "must be born again,"¹⁵⁵ which was true because, according to Jesus, a man must experience the new birth in order to enter the kingdom of God. The ministry of Jesus was aimed at giving new life to those who were dead in sins. This constituted the good news of the gospel of Christ--the news that in Him alone was eternal life to be found.

These men of missions organized societies to send missionaries, and some of them went to the foreign fields themselves because they aspired to use the God-appointed means in order to become "instruments of universal reconciliation."¹⁵⁶ William Carey as the pioneer missionary of the awakening and many others who followed him demonstrated by their early practice on the mission field that they remained true to their original aim, for the Word of God was what they preached.¹⁵⁷ Missionary work progressed slowly at

¹⁵⁵John 3:7; vide "Those scriptures which teach the necessity of regeneration," Fuller, "Dialogues and Letters between Crispus and Gaius," Dia. IX, p. 302, cols. 1,2.

¹⁵⁶Balfour, "Heaven and Earth Reconciled by the Mediation of Christ," p. 215.

¹⁵⁷Vide sermons preached to the heathen by W. Carey, M. Horne, and J. Vanderkemp in: Eustace Carey, Memoir of William Carey, D.D. (London: Jackson and Walford, 1837),

first, but many heathen heard the calling of God, responded to it, and were born again. By the power of His Spirit co-operating with the preaching of the Word, the gospel with all "its doctrines, motives, calls, and invitations"¹⁵⁸ was made effectual for the salvation of the heathen!¹⁵⁹

In summarizing, a review of the soteriological factors of missionary justification reveals that we have reached the heart of this matter of missions and the primary motive for the missionary awakening. If man was created for the glory of God or to glorify God and if Christ's glory was in the salvation of sinners, then the action of these evangelicals in zealously seeking the salvation of souls followed logically upon the basis of this doctrine of the glory of God and provided the most notable examples of Christian faithfulness and devotion. And when they became

pp. 149-150; Melville Horne, "A Sermon . . . Delivered to the Natives in the Western Parts of Africa," The Baptist Annual Register, 1794-1797, ed. John Rippon (London: Dilly, Button, and Thomas, 1794-1797), pp. 249-255; A. D. Martin, Doctor Vanderkemp (Westminster: The Livingstone Press, [n.d.]), pp. 95-96.

¹⁵⁸"On the Calls and Invitations of the Gospel," p. 202.

¹⁵⁹Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems Examined and Compared as to Moral Tendency," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 56; Bogue, "Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," pp. 124-125; Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," pp. 91-93, et al.

informed of the conditions of vast numbers of sinful heathen on five continents, it was not unusual that they should apply this zeal to these pagans just as they had to all who were non-Christian. The evangelicals' greatest difficulty lay in the fact that the majority of the clergymen of late eighteenth century Britain did not share their enthusiasm for winning the lost, and therefore, support for missions during the awakening was limited to those from among their own evangelical numbers.

The emphasis of this chapter might make it appear that these men were only interested in saving souls, which of course was not true. We have already seen that they recognized the opportunities for cultural and social uplift and took advantage of them as they tried to bring the whole of existence under the royal dominion of Christ. However, the main emphasis of their mission work was located elsewhere--in salvation by grace through faith in Jesus Christ. The evangelicals knew that without the soteriological passion men, even missionaries, might forget that the dominion of Christ has its beginning in the individual hearts of men--nothing could ever take precedence over this. In their mission work as with their ministerial service at home, the evangelicals were working for a personal encounter between individual heathens and Jesus Christ.

The heathen, having heard the preaching of the gospel

and the calling of the Word of God, were saved as they accepted the grace of God in Christ Jesus by faith, which was their duty as sinful men in need of forgiveness. Those who truly exercised faith experienced regeneration, which was the beginning of God's saving actions in them, as the fullness of God's Word with all its doctrines by the power of the Holy Spirit began making of them new creatures in Christ. Missions during the awakening became an unavoidable application of the Biblical message in toto.

These men of missions labored under the obligation to preach the free grace gospel to all men, because in no other way could sinners be saved. And in their preaching there was little reference to the doctrine of election, which was a rule for God alone and remained undisclosed to them. Their duty was to preach the Word faithfully; those who would accept on faith would be saved, and those who refused the gospel would only eliminate themselves by rejecting the grace of God and thereby eternal life.

This had been their evangelical message in Britain, and its validity could be attested to by themselves in their own conversion experiences and by countless numbers who had found Christ and the forgiveness of sins as a result of over half a century of evangelical revival. The effects of evangelical preaching could be seen at home, and history revealed that a faithful preaching of the gospel was the

means of the early spread of Christianity throughout the world of that day; therefore, what could prevent missions to the heathen from becoming the difference between salvation or destruction to vast numbers of heathen in the world who were in that day as lost and in need of a Savior as were the Europeans when Paul first came to Macedonia or as were the Britons when Christianity was first brought to the Isles.¹⁶⁰

Thus, it was evangelical soteriology that established "the institution of foreign evangelical missions,"¹⁶¹ which had found its justification in the gospel message that men--all men--might be saved from their sins to live eternally through faith in Christ Jesus.

¹⁶⁰W. Carey, Enquiry..., p. 69; David Bogue, "To the Evangelical Dissenters who practice Infant Baptism," The Evangelical Magazine (London: T. Chapman, September, 1794), p. 379.

¹⁶¹Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," p. 140.

CHAPTER IV

ECCLESIOLOGY AND MISSIONS

During the eighteenth century the doctrine of the Church suffered from the influence of Rationalism, which was indifferent in matters of faith and placed the Church on the same level as other human societies. From within the Established Church and dissenting groups alike, rationalistic tendencies were blinding the vision of the Church and deadening its sensitivity to the leadership of Christ. Fuller once remarked, "I conceive there is scarcely a minister amongst us whose preaching has not been more or less influenced by the lethargic systems of the age."¹ There was a pietistic reaction to Rationalism in Methodism, but this did not lead Methodists to contribute anything to the development of the doctrine of the Church. Though evangelicals of several denominations were zealous in their devotion to Christ and to His Church, it was generally true that they made little if any contribution to this doctrine. In fact, they did not even possess in common a clear

¹Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 177.

doctrine of the Church.² Therefore, one would hardly expect the idea of the plantatio ecclesiae to be a main stimulus of the missionary awakening. The evangelicals went out to save souls, and the formation of a Church on the mission field was only a corollary of their labors, not their primary aim.³ They were often accused of preaching "a Gospel without a Church,"⁴ but this indictment was not altogether true. In the second stage of the Evangelical Revival toward the end of the eighteenth century, as the distinction between Evangelicalism and Methodism became more sharply defined, there were many evangelicals who had a deep respect for the Church.⁵

At the outset it is understood that the idea of the Church was not given a place of prime importance in the missionary awakening but did receive a certain amount of attention in each of the societies and is, therefore, worthy of consideration. From the standpoint of ecclesiology the evangelicals made a definite contribution in their

²S. C. Carpenter, Church and People, 1789-1889 (London: S.P.C.K., 1933), pp. 40-41.

³Johannes Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love (Kampen: J. H. Kok N. V., 1956), p. 159.

⁴Carpenter, loc. cit.

⁵Van Den Berg, op. cit., pp. 117, 159. Vide Charles Smyth, Simeon and Church Order (Cambridge: The University Press, 1940), passim.

missionary application of existing doctrine in the support and justification of missions.

I. THE CHURCH AND MISSIONS

William Carey had a strong Church consciousness, and from the beginning his idea for carrying out his project was of a missionary society within the Church that would express the life of the Church. He had no intention of projecting a one-man mission. The obligation rested on the Church; therefore, the life of the society would have to be continuous with that of the Christian body.⁶ If all Baptist congregations would give according to their circumstances, before long churches could be built in almost every village in England, and the gospel could be sent to the heathen abroad.⁷

In spite of much interdenominational emphasis, the founders of most Scottish missionary societies entertained no ideas of their societies exercising Church power. They defined their work as the collection of sufficient funds and selection of qualified ministers for foreign mission

⁶Arthur Dakin, William Carey Shoemaker, Linguist, Missionary (London: The Carey Press, 1942), p. 27.

⁷William Carey, An Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens (Leicester: Ann Ireland Booksellers, 1792), p. 85.

service.⁸ The societies could not be considered organs of the Church because, as Ewing said: "The very existence of societies for propagating the gospel, is an evidence of the deficiency of constituted churches."⁹ From the beginning the Evangelicals had sought to bring the societies under the direction of the Church,¹⁰ but they had been refused and were forced to act independently or abandon what they believed to be the Church's duty. Even then they realized that the existence of societies depended upon the final authority of the Church as vested in it by Christ for supplying ordained and educated men for foreign service.¹¹

In the London Missionary Society, where interdenominationalism was the guiding principle of the organization, ecclesiological matters were not entirely neglected, even though the founders declared the design was "not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of church order and government, . . . but the glorious

⁸W. Graham, "An Essay, Tending to Remove Certain Scruples, Respecting the Constitution and Direction of Missionary Societies" (Newcastle: M. Angus, 1796), pp. 8-11.

⁹Greville Ewing, "A Defence of Missions" (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1797), p. 35.

¹⁰Cf. ante, p. 74, footnote 121.

¹¹Graham, loc. cit.

Gospel of the blessed God to the heathen."¹² On the basis of this Fundamental Principle it was often assumed that the London Society was committed to a view of evangelism that had no convictions about the relevance of the Church to the gospel. This, however, was far from representing the view held by its founders.¹³

Alexander Waugh, minister of the Scots Secession Church in London, and responsible for the final drafting of the Fundamental Principle, shared the convictions of Secession churchmen on the subject of the Establishment; nevertheless, he was a staunch Presbyterian with a keen eye for the dangers of indifference to church order. In writing to a fellow minister on "the communion of saints in the church below," Waugh forcefully cautioned him against a Latitudinarianism that would "sweep into the fold a mixed multitude, like Jacob's flock, of ring-straked, spotted, and speckled, and brown."¹⁴

David Bogue, who exercised a stronger influence in the affairs of the Society than perhaps any other of its founders, was also a Scot with firm Presbyterian background. But soon after his settlement in England he became an

¹²William Ellis, The History of the London Missionary Society (London: John Snow, 1844), Vol. I, pp. 38-39.

¹³Norman Goodall, A History of the London Missionary Society 1895-1945 (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 3.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 4.

Independent. His breach with the Church of Scotland was primarily on the ground of its State connection, but he was no more indifferent to the fundamental principles of church order than Waugh. The key to Bogue's churchmanship lay in the Fundamental Principle of the Society; the form that church order and government took had to be agreeable to the Word of God.¹⁵

These men clearly subordinated questions of ecclesiastical polity to the urgency of the evangelistic task, but they would not likely have become the supporters of a society for the propagation of a churchless gospel. What mattered was the primacy of the Word; from it was derived church order and government.¹⁶ Hence, missionaries were to treat questions of church polity as responsibilities to be handled within the indigenous fellowship and determined by reference to the Scripture.¹⁷

In the old Anglican societies ecclesiological ideals were real stimuli to missionary action, and to a much less extent this was also true of the Church Missionary

¹⁵Ellis, loc. cit.

¹⁶Vide Waugh's letter to one of his sons who was debating the question of orders, Goodall, op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁷Vide a sermon preached by Waugh at the second anniversary of the Society, Goodall, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

Society.¹⁸ During the formation of the latter society at the March 18, 1799, meeting of the Eclectic Society, John Venn remarked: "One important point to be considered respects the general character of the Mission. I think it ought to be founded upon the Church principle, not the High-Church principle."¹⁹

What Venn meant by "High-Church principle" is uncertain. Stock, in his History of the Church Missionary Society, suggested that Venn was probably referring to these principles: (1) no Church enterprise ought to be undertaken by individual clergymen without the direction and support of bishops, and (2) every man ordained by a bishop was ipso facto fit to be a missionary. If this were the case then it was not strange that he objected to it.²⁰ Possibly this was closely related to what Pratt said at that same meeting about keeping the work in "evangelical hands."²¹ It is evident that Venn was willing to sacrifice the practices of the Church or high churchmen that stood in the way of world

¹⁸Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 159-160.

¹⁹John H. Pratt (ed.), Eclectic Notes (second edition; London: James Nisbet and Co., 1865), p. 98.

²⁰Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), Vol. I, p. 65.

²¹Pratt, op. cit., p. 99.

evangelization or, more specifically, their mission. He would, however, uphold the principles of the Church of England as far as possible, for he preferred denominational action. Venn knew that preaching could be carried on in common by evangelical Christians divided on Church questions, but he believed that the non-denominational method was impractical when converts were being gathered into communities. Such native communities must either be linked to an existing body or become a new, independent body. Missionaries could not avoid following their own denominational lines to some extent.²²

According to Bogue the doctrine of the Church had been the subject of much thought. "In the present century, the nature of the church of Christ, . . . has been better understood than it ever was since the days of Constantine,"²³ he declared. Concerning the nature of the Church the Reformers had made a distinction between the visible and the invisible Church, but their opponents often accused them of teaching that there were two separate churches. Certainly this was not true; both Luther and Calvin made

²²Stock, op. cit., p. 64.

²³David Bogue, "Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. 130.

reference to the visible and invisible Church but only as two aspects of the one Church.²⁴ However, through the years varying degrees of confusion had been attached to this distinction and consequently led John Erskine to seek the "Bible-idea of the word church."²⁵ He found that the primitive Christians, instead of distinguishing between a visible and invisible Church, only spoke of one Church, which consisted of true believers united in faith.²⁶ Thus, following the primitive example Erskine placed the accent upon the unity of the Church. Many missionary evangelicals shared Erskine's view and emphasized the oneness of the Church and the universality and spirituality of its nature. Haweis, in his "Plea for Peace and Union" of 1796, stated that "the real church of God is one, universal, spiritual, holy, comprising all the elect of God, and incapable of comprehending any others."²⁷ The Church was one because it was the body of Christ. Diversified modes of administration

²⁴Reinhold Seeberg, The History of Doctrines, trans. C. E. Hay (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1956), Vol. II, pp. 408-409.

²⁵John Erskine, Theological Dissertations (Edinburgh: J. Pillans & Sons, 1808), p. 112.

²⁶Ibid., p. 119.

²⁷Thomas Haweis, "A Plea for Peace and Union" (London: T. Chapman, 1796), p. 8. Vide William Shrubsole, Christian Memoirs (Rochester: W. Gillman, 1790), pp. 267-275.

made no difference²⁸ because they were "gathered together into one, made as it were, one great corporate body, . . . having their hearts knit together in love,"²⁹ explained Balfour. Apart from union with the living Lord, there was no relationship to His body, but when the members were truly united with the Head, then their lives were bound up with His life.³⁰ Redeemed sinners, considered as a community, constituted the Church; it was in this sense that Christ, who loved the Church, gave His life for it.³¹ On the basis of His love, He commanded those of His body or community to love one another; in this manner Christ laid the foundations of love in the Church among the brethren, a love which should also reach out to sinners everywhere.

²⁸Haweis, loc. cit.; John W. Eddins, Jr., "Andrew Fuller's Theology of Grace" (unpublished dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1957), pp. 203 ff.

²⁹Robert Balfour, "Heaven and Earth Reconciled by the Mediation of Christ," Sermons on Interesting Subjects (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1819), pp. 172, 178.

³⁰Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Sermons and Sketches," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), Sermon XXIII, p. 628, where Fuller writes: "If one says, 'I live,' he must recollect himself, with the apostle, and add, 'Yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.'" Galatians 2:20.

³¹Richard Cecil, Original Thoughts on Various Passages of Scripture, ed. Catherine Cecil (second edition; London: Seeleys, 1851), Vol. II, pp. 159-163; Balfour, op. cit., p. 108.

Members of the Church as the elect of God were set apart as a "peculiar people,"³² whose primary task included the use of all possible means of advancing Christ's kingdom. Ewing concluded that every member of the body should become "eminently useful" in seeking "the greater good of the church."³³ Each Christian could do something in this great universal work. Many could do nothing but pray, but all Christians could at least unite in prayer. What a blessing it would be, said Carey, if "the whole body [were] thus animated by one soul."³⁴

Haweis had stated that the Church was universal inasmuch as it comprehended all ages of time and all nations on earth. The first believer, as well as the last, would be a member of the universal Church. Few people of that day had realized the extent of the Church's sphere of activity or what its universal character involved. Ewing suggests that many were confusing the principles of religion, which were unchangeable, with the circumstances of the Church, which demanded innovations as a result of its progressive state.³⁵

³²Melville Horne, Letters on Missions (Andover: Flaggs and Gould, 1815), p. 26.

³³Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 93.

³⁴Carey, Enquiry..., p. 81.

³⁵Ewing, op. cit., pp. 67-79.

Those who failed to see this distinction and who thus resisted all change were the ones who opposed missions because they misunderstood the ever-enlarging boundary of the Church.³⁶ This was Ewing's explanation of why the heathen were not being "received into the bosom of the church,"³⁷ even though it had been prophesied of old.³⁸ Christianity was originally designed to be a "universal religion,"³⁹ seeing that Jesus Christ is the Savior of the world, to the supreme glory of God the Father.⁴⁰

The universal character of the Church was also very closely related to the kingdom of God, in that it emphasized the spiritual nature of the Church as an eschatological concept. As Bogue had said, it was "the nature of the Church of Christ, as a spiritual kingdom, and not of the world,"⁴¹ that had been better understood in the eighteenth century than at any other time since the fourth century. When Haweis stated that the Church was "spiritual" and

³⁶Ibid., p. 69. ³⁷Ibid., p. 70.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 70-71; Isaiah 65:1-2; Isaiah 66:19.

³⁹Robert Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," Sermons on Interesting Subjects (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1819), p. 133.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 118.

⁴¹Bogue, "Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," p. 130.

"holy," he was stressing the fact that the Church of all ages throughout all nations was made up of sinners in whose hearts the rule of God was acknowledged and established by the regenerating influence of the Holy Spirit. Under the dominion of God Christians were united in spirit and in truth with Christ as their living Head.⁴² Their relationship to Christ was not only temporal but also eternal and provided the basis for the communications of His Spirit and the power to please God. In this sense the Church was a society of the faithful and composed of no one else.⁴³ Only those who had become members of the mystical body of Christ could be called members of His Church and heirs to His kingdom.⁴⁴ Through the ages Christians formed themselves into communities or churches of various modes and forms but all with the same object: edifying the body of Christ. They pursued this object with what they regarded as the most effectual means, and in spite of different administrations,

⁴²Haweis, "A Plea for Peace and Union," p. 13; Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "The Gospel Its Own Witness," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 43, col. 2; Thomas Haweis, An Impartial and Succinct History of the Rise, Declension, and Revival of the Church of Christ (London: J. Mawman, 1800), Vol. III, p. 341.

⁴³Haweis, "A Plea for Peace and Union," p. 13; Erskine, Theological Dissertations, pp. 87, 119.

⁴⁴Haweis, "A Plea for Peace and Union," pp. 13, 15.

the ministry of the Word and the two sacraments were faithfully held to be of divine institution.⁴⁵

Carey's missionary application of these commonly accepted teachings directed attention to the duty of Church members. In his Enquiry . . . he wrote:

Christians are a body whose truest interest lies in the exaltation of the Messiah's kingdom. Their charter is very extensive, their encouragements exceeding great, and the returns promised infinitely superior to all the gains of the most lucrative fellowship. Let then every one in his station consider himself as bound to act with all his might, and in every possible way for God.⁴⁶

They could distinguish themselves in matters pertaining to His kingdom, just as the primitive Christians had done, by love for their fellow men.⁴⁷ And if there existed a real concern for their lost brethren of the world, then surely Christians would resolve to use all means of advancing the kingdom.⁴⁸ The principle of "the glory of God in the development of His Kingdom"⁴⁹ was held by many as an

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 13, 15, 31.

⁴⁶Carey, Enquiry..., p. 82.

⁴⁷Balfour, "Heaven and Earth Reconciled by the Mediation of Christ," p. 174.

⁴⁸Horne, Letters on Missions, p. 26.

⁴⁹William Owen Carver, The Course of Christian Missions (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1939), p. 140. Fuller's mature view of the practical application of his doctrines of grace to foreign missions prompted him to write a circular letter to the Northamptonshire Association

important factor in the mission work of the late eighteenth century awakening.

II. THE MISSIONARY MINISTRY

During the missionary awakening Christians in general, even hyper-Calvinists, believed that the heathen would eventually be saved, but would not agree that human instrumentality had anything to do with their salvation. However, God had ordained the preaching of the gospel of Christ as the means for the conversion of sinners, a task which had been entrusted to the Christian ministry.⁵⁰ When Haweis reflected upon this problem in connection with world evangelization, he was confronted by the Apostle Paul's question. (Romans 10:14-15) In his sermon, "The Apostolic Commission," Haweis said: "We are sure, that only they, who believe, shall be saved. 'But how shall they believe on

in which he said, "The true churches of Jesus Christ travail in birth for the salvation of men. They are the armies of the Lamb, the grand object of whose existence is to extend the Redeemer's kingdom." Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Circular Letters," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 737, col. 1.

⁵⁰Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," pp. 89-93; Fuller, "Circular Letters," p. 731, col. 1; Fuller, "Sermons and Sketches," Sermon VIII, p. 573. Vide a paper by Hardcastle in The Evangelical Magazine, June, 1797, quoted by Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895 (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), Vol. I, p. 53.

him, of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent?"⁵¹ Those who said that if God desired the salvation of the heathen, then He would in some way save them without the help of man,⁵² were not only in conflict with the Scriptures but had failed to learn an important lesson from the history of the Church. In his letter "To the Evangelical Dissenters," Bogue reminded his friends that in every age of the Church the gospel was propagated by the preaching of Christian ministers, and even to the present the situation remained unaltered.⁵³

Becoming a missionary and facing the difficulties of ministering to the heathen "would only be passing through what we have virtually engaged in by entering on the ministerial office,"⁵⁴ said Carey. In a peculiar sense a Christian minister was not his own but was wholly the servant of

⁵¹Thomas Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. 21. Vide Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," pp. 19-22. This Scripture was used as the motto of Carey's Enquiry..., title page.

⁵²Carey, Enquiry..., p. 8.

⁵³David Bogue, "To the Evangelical Dissenters who practice Infant Baptism," The Evangelical Magazine (London: T. Chapman, September, 1794), p. 380. Vide Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 22.

⁵⁴Carey, Enquiry..., p. 71.

God. In this capacity he was committed to go wherever God called him and do whatever God commanded in the exercise of his function as a minister.⁵⁵ Thus, a faithful ministry true to the pastoral office would constitute and comprehend a missionary ministry.

When Ewing indicated that preachers of the gospel, acting as "itinerants or missionaries,"⁵⁶ would be the instruments for reaching the heathen, he was not thereby suggesting that the labor of missionaries be only loosely related to the Church. By this remark he called attention to the practice of the early Church in setting apart certain ministers for the "labours of itinerancy."⁵⁷ As missionaries they were nothing less than ministers of Christ and of His Church, which Carey's missionary experience clearly illustrated. When he withdrew from Leicester he certainly did not feel that he forfeited his ministerial status, though he demitted office as pastor of the Baptist church

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 72. Vide Horne, Letters on Missions, pp. 176-177; Fuller, "Sermons and Sketches," pp. 679-699; Thomas Coke, "Four Discourses on the Duties of a Minister of the Gospel," from Adam Clarke, The Preacher's Manual (New York: T. Mason and G. Lane, 1837), pp. 153-154, 169, 174, 179-181, 208.

⁵⁶Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 50.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 35.

there.⁵⁸ In Carey's day the term "minister" was used in a much wider sense than that of "pastor."⁵⁹ He was no longer pastor at Leicester; he was an appointed missionary, but as such he was still a minister. In a letter to the Reverend J. Stranger of Moulton, February 13, 1787, Carey wrote that a minister would fulfill his office at all times and in all places, "in the chimney corner, as well as the pulpit."⁶⁰ Little did Carey realize when he wrote this letter that he would occupy a "chimney corner" as far away as India and there would carefully maintain the character of a minister until, after years of service, he would fill the "pulpit" of a church of Indian Christians to whom he was pastor.

⁵⁸Ernest A. Payne, The Fellowship of Believers (London: The Carey Kingsgate Press, 1944), p. 52. An extract from the Hervey Lane Church Book, Leicester, March 24, 1793, states: "Mr. Carey our Minister left Leicester to go on a Mission to the East Indies, to take and propegate the Gospel among those Idolatrous and Superstitious Heathens. This is inserted to shew his Love to his poor miserable Fellow Creatures; in this we concurd with him, though it is at the Expense of losing one whom we love as our own souls." John Taylor (ed.), Biographical and Literary Notices of William Carey, D.D. (Northampton: The Dryden Press, 1886), p. 7.

⁵⁹Payne, op. cit., p. 46. However, it was said of Carey that he held "the pastoral office the highest honour upon earth." S. Pearce Carey, William Carey (London: Hodder and Stoughton, [1923]), p. 48.

⁶⁰John Taylor (ed.), Extract from "The Baptist Reporter," July, 1844, Biographical and Literary Notices of William Carey, D.D. (Northampton: The Dryden Press, 1886), addenda.

Unfortunately many ministers did not accept this view of the ministry and were either uninterested or openly hostile to missions, and of the remainder only a very few would eventually be suitable for service on the foreign fields. Societies were, therefore, faced with the acute problem of finding missionaries. Whom would they send? The London Missionary Society decided as a primary consideration that only those who possessed "a call to this particular work"⁶¹ could be sent as missionaries of the Society. This was the consensus of most missionary evangelicals. They insisted on a divine call to the task, believing that God would surely provide the men.⁶² A missionary's call would not only consist of a consciousness of being divinely impelled to this special task, but would also include a desire to be a part of the missionary cause out of love for God and His kingdom. In a letter to H. Muir of Glasgow concerning the establishment of the Glasgow Missionary Society,

⁶¹Richard Lovett, "Rules for the Examination of Missionaries," The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895 (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), Vol. I, p. 43.

⁶²Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," pp. 14-15. Horne had no doubts about his special call from God for service in Africa. He ended his first sermon to the natives of Sierra Leone with these words: "Christ . . . sent me to you, to teach you the things that are in his book, that you may be saved." Melville Horne, "A Sermon," The Baptist Annual Register, 1794-1797, ed. John Rippon (London: Dilly, Button, and Thomas, 1794-97), p. 255.

Fuller wrote: "No man is fit to be sent, in my judgment, . . . who does not possess a peculiar desire after the work; such a desire as would render him unhappy in any other employment."⁶³ Another important part of the missionary's call, as Ewing recognized it, concerned a dedication to the area of greatest need. He pointed out that some ministers had waited long for a pastoral charge with little prospect of obtaining one, while among the heathen there were millions who were without a pastor and consequently without the means of grace.⁶⁴ Ewing urged these and all who would to accept the call of God to the areas of abundant need.⁶⁵ To Horne the most basic and extensive element in God's calling of missionaries was the great commission, by which ministers justified their ministry at home but which they refused to recognize as their calling to missionary service or support.⁶⁶ Horne challenged his more indifferent brethren to consider what their lot would be if the apostles had reacted to the Gentiles in the same neglectful way in which they were conducting themselves toward the heathen

⁶³Fuller, The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, p. 1000, col. 2.

⁶⁴Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 91.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 93.

⁶⁶Horne, Letters on Missions, p. 34.

world.⁶⁷

Some of the early missionaries who responded to the call were not ministers but came from a variety of vocations--carpenters, farmers, blacksmiths, and others were sent as missionaries to form small Christian communities wherever they settled. This was particularly the early practice of the London Missionary Society; the Moravians appear to have been their example. However, the main emphasis in all of the societies was placed upon the need for missionary-ministers. Even when a number of missionaries were sent out to form a Christian community among the heathen, the community that they formed was centered about the ones who were entrusted with the ministry of the Word.

The first missionaries were often ill-prepared for their ministry, and a few were even ordained by standards inferior to the rules for ordination in the home Church. The reasons given for this practice were expediency and the uncultured nature of the heathen to whom the missionaries would be sent, but very soon this action proved unwise and was discontinued.⁶⁸ Actually, missionaries needed more specialized instruction than the average parish minister.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 35-36, 112-115.

⁶⁸William Chalmers, "Glasgow Missionary Society Quarterly Paper" (Glasgow: Andrew Young, 1828), No. III, p. 7.

Before long more capable men were being trained and sent. Only among the Anglicans of the Church Missionary Society did a serious problem arise concerning ordination and the securing of qualified missionaries. For the first few years of its existence the society channeled its funds into related activities because Anglican ministers did not present themselves for missionary service. Horne criticized his fellow ministers for their reluctance and for thinking that the work of a missionary was "vile, dirty work, and fit only for scullions and shoe-boys"⁶⁹ and consequently below their station in society. Being familiar with Horne's Letters on Missions, the founders of the Church Missionary Society anticipated the difficulties associated with enlisting missionaries and made a rather drastic suggestion. At the March 18, 1799, meeting of the Eclectic Society John Venn spoke in favor of sending laymen if ministers could not be found. The layman could be sent as a Catechist to instruct the people and gather a Church--he would not administer the sacraments except in cases of absolute necessity. Then, if a minister for the Church could not be found, Venn suggested that the only recourse would be to

⁶⁹Horne, Letters on Missions, p. 114.

ordain the Catechist.⁷⁰ The discussion which followed Venn's proposal revealed that Simeon and Wilberforce were in agreement with him. Nevertheless, in spite of this plan, the work of the Church Missionary Society progressed slowly at the start.

The rise and development of the missionary ministry was an interesting feature of the awakening. From the beginning it was evident to those who looked beneath the surface that the missionary societies would succeed or fail depending very largely upon the kind of men who volunteered as missionaries.⁷¹ The Lord could work with many or with

⁷⁰Pratt, Eclectic Notes, pp. 97-98. In his "Account of a Society for Missions to Africa and the East," Venn explained that the office of Catechist in the primitive Church was exercised by any of the inferior ecclesiastics. It was his business to address the Gentiles or unconverted Jews on behalf of Christian doctrine, to expose the absurdity of pagan superstition, to remove prejudices, and to answer objections. He also instructed those who had embraced the Christian faith but did not have a sufficient knowledge of Christian doctrine to qualify them for baptism. For this reason Catechists appeared to be the most suitable persons to plant the gospel among the heathen. When they had been faithful in instructing the heathen and successful in laying the foundations of a Christian Church, then there might be grounds for admitting them to a higher order. Charles Hole, The Early History of the Church Missionary Society (London: Church Missionary Society, 1896), pp. 652-653. Vide John Venn, Sermons (London: J. Hatchard, 1814), Vol. I, pp. 7-15; Thomas Scott, "The Rights of God" (London: D. Jaques, n.d.), pp. 81-85; Josiah Pratt (ed.), The Works of the Rev. Richard Cecil, M.A. (third edition; London: L. B. Seeley and Son, 1827), Vol. II, pp. 483-486.

⁷¹Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, Vol. I, p. 46; John Pratt, Eclectic Notes, p. 97.

few, but the practical lesson to be learned from the history of the Christian Church was the importance of taking time and care in the training of Christian workers. The founders of the early missionary societies, however, had to learn this lesson through unfortunate experiences. At the outset Bogue had advocated an educational program for the missionaries of the London Society. He realized that some men would volunteer who were well qualified to go immediately as missionaries among the heathen, but in most cases volunteers would require instruction, necessitating the establishment of a seminary.⁷² Later the directors of the Society entrusted Bogue with the training of missionaries at his seminary in Gosport. He was instructed not to teach Christian knowledge in general but to give special attention to missionary subjects. At Gosport, we are told, they learned "the whole system of Missionary doctrines and duties."⁷³ However, the evangelicals were agreed that, even more important than training, their missionaries should possess

⁷²Bogue, "To the Evangelical Dissenters who practice Infant Baptism," p. 380.

⁷³David Bogue, "A Sermon Occasioned by the death of Joseph Hardcastle, Esq., Treasurer of the London Missionary Society" (London: J. Dennett, 1819), p. 25.

the apostolic spirit,⁷⁴ or as Horne expressed it: "Our Missionaries must be gospel ministers, and not moral ones."⁷⁵

By the close of the eighteenth century the true idea of missions had been grasped. On the one hand was a human race needing a Savior; on the other hand was a divine Savior for all; and between the two were the men who knew Him, commissioned by Him to proclaim His gospel to those who knew Him not. Foremost among these men was William Carey, a missionary successful enough to appeal to the Church's imagination and able in his lifetime to turn the thought of the whole Church in this direction.⁷⁶

⁷⁴W. Carey, Enquiry..., p. 72. R. Hill said: "If we are not to have apostles, it is impossible that the church can live, or be enlarged, unless we have men of an apostolic spirit." Rowland Hill, Thoughts on Religious Subjects (London: Religious Tract Society, 1835), p. 216. J. Venn declared: "They must be men of the Apostolic spirit, such as Brainerd--men not careful about the things of the world." John Pratt, Eclectic Notes, p. 97; Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 75; Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Strictures on Sandemanianism," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 287, col. 2; et al.

⁷⁵Horne, Letters on Missions, p. 78. Vide Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, Vol. I, p. 41.

⁷⁶Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol. I, p. xiii; Dakin, William Carey Shoemaker, Linguist, Missionary, pp. 6-7.

III. THE WORK OF THE CHURCH

The primitive Church felt the impulse of expansion primarily from soteriological motives, but it was also motivated by its character as a universal community whose nature and duty it was to expand to the ends of the earth. The early Church was a Church in the full sense of the word; it was a group of believers, held together by Word and sacraments and guided by a ministry conscious of Christ's direct calling to that task.⁷⁷ In his sermon at the ordination of Carey in Moulton, August 1, 1787, Fuller said that two of Christ's most important gifts to the Church were ministers and the ordinances.⁷⁸ He was persuaded that the Church as the instrument of Christ by means of these gifts must still "Go . . . into all the world . . ."⁷⁹ and preach the gospel of salvation, just as the Christians of the primitive Church had done, with the promise that the work would be similarly blessed.⁸⁰ Thus, from the beginning of

⁷⁷Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 181.

⁷⁸Fuller, a sermon on the "Importance of Christian Ministers Considered as the Gift of Christ," from "Sermons and Sketches," pp. 698-699.

⁷⁹Mark 16:15; Fuller, "The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation," pp. 163-164.

⁸⁰From a charge delivered to the first missionaries of the Baptist Society in their parting meeting at Leicester, 1793. Fuller, "The Nature and Encouragements of the Missionary Work," from "Sermons and Sketches," pp. 694-695.

the modern foreign missionary movement, relying upon the example of the primitive Church, the evangelicals understood the work of the Church as the faithful administration of the Word and the sacraments. The ordinances of the Church were held to be important and vital,⁸¹ but were clearly subordinated to preaching the Word.⁸²

Upon the authority of Him who gave the commission, the Anglicans of the Church Missionary Society agreed that the work of the Church empowered by the Holy Spirit was to evangelize the world and to gather the Church by self-extension and self-propagation.⁸³ By means of preaching,

⁸¹Vide George Smith, The Life of William Carey, Shoemaker and Missionary (Everyman's Library Edition; London: J. M. Dent & Co., [n.d.]), pp. 100-101, in which Carey described the baptism of his first convert in India and the administration of the Lord's Supper that followed; see also A. D. Martin, Doctor Vanderkemp (Westminster: The Livingstone Press, [n.d.]), p. 96, in which Vanderkemp tells of the baptism of his first convert in Africa; it is interesting to note that John Thomas, Carey's missionary partner, had attempted mission work prior to their meeting. In 1787, during an earlier visit to India, Thomas had developed some strong convictions on the subject of the ordinances. In reading I Cor. 11:20 ff. he felt condemned for his neglect of the Lord's Supper and decided to observe it once a month. Remembering the practice of the Baptist churches he had known in England, he likewise decided to insist on baptism by immersion of those who joined the Christian fellowship. C. B. Lewis, The Life of John Thomas (London: Macmillan and Co., 1873), pp. 98-99; Erskine, Theological Dissertations, p. 94.

⁸²Vide Hole, The Early History of the Church Missionary Society, p. 651.

⁸³Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol. I, p. 5.

the heathen would be told of their perishing condition and of God's plan of salvation through Christ.⁸⁴ Those who believed and were saved would constitute "a society of persons effectually called."⁸⁵ The outward call of the gospel was world-wide, but only those who complied with it became members of the Church.⁸⁶ The gospel call was not so much the privilege of the Church as it was the instrument by which the Church was gathered, Erskine explained; it was the means of conveying the gospel blessing.⁸⁷ Hence, the gospel of Christ was God's invitation to all men to come to the Church wearing the wedding garment, but to come unclothed with faith was not allowed because faith was the foundation of a sinner's title to Church membership.⁸⁸ In this sense whenever the gospel was proclaimed and met with faith in the heart and mind of the sinner, God was adding to the Church.⁸⁹

⁸⁴Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," pp. 91-93.

⁸⁵Erskine, Theological Dissertations, p. 86.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 87. ⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 100-101.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 87.

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 86-88. Vide Greville Ewing, An Attempt Towards A Statement of the Doctrine of Scripture (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1807), pp. 155-168; Eddins, "Andrew Fuller's Theology of Grace," p. 227.

In his epoch-making sermon delivered at the Nottingham Association in June of 1792, Carey's subject was enlargement, the work of the Church. He preached from Isaiah 54:2-3:

Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes; for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited.

Here he compared the Church to a poor widow who lived alone in a small tent. She who was childless was told to enlarge her tent because her family was going to increase in size; her children were going to inhabit the nations and people the desolate cities. She could accept this word as the truth because it came from her husband, "the Lord of hosts." By way of application Carey challenged his brethren with God's great promise to the Church under the two now famous headings: "Expect great things from God; Attempt great things for God."⁹⁰ From these two themes of Carey's sermon came the basis of all sound missionary effort.

IV. MISSIONS AND THE ECUMENICAL IDEAL

Before concluding this chapter on ecclesiology some reference should be made to the ecumenical spirit of the

⁹⁰Eustace Carey, Memoir of William Carey, D.D. (London: Jackson and Walford, 1837), pp. 84-85; Smith, The Life of William Carey, Shoemaker and Missionary, pp. 36-37.

missionary awakening. Ruth Rouse has written that "missions and ecumenism are inseparable. Revival, missions, Christian unity, is an inevitable series."⁹¹ These three aspects of the series were unmistakably present during the missionary awakening. In Carey's thinking missions offered an unparalleled opportunity for the Church to share its rich gift with the world. The salvation of the heathen, as Carey had proved in his Enquiry . . . , was the duty of Christians or, more specifically, the Christian fellowship. On this basis he proposed a missionary society of his own denomination supported by the prayers and gifts of every member of every congregation, a plan which represented his interpretation of the New Testament ideal of all Christians acting as an aggressive missionary Church.⁹² By this plan Carey had no intention of confining missions to one denomination. He said, "I wish with all my heart, that every one who loves our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, would in some way or other engage in it."⁹³ However, because of the divided state of Christendom, he felt certain more could be done by each denomination engaging separately in the work.⁹⁴ Carey

⁹¹Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds.), A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948 (London: S.P.C.K., 1954), p. 310.

⁹²W. Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 77-87.

⁹³Ibid., p. 84. ⁹⁴Ibid.

believed it was better to effect immediate and substantial good, with some imperfections and errors, than to speculate on schemes of union, agreement, or coalition while life was wasted and the opportunities for usefulness retired.⁹⁵ He feared that denominational unity on the mission field would mean the sacrifice of some portion of truth or the neglect of some matter of positive obedience. It was far better for Christians to promulgate the truth of Christ according to their own conceptions and to inculcate obedience to His authority agreeable to their own views, than to speculate upon the realization of a catholicism incompatible with their present circumstances. Any diversity in the external modes of Christian practice would not be as confusing to the heathen as the detection of intentional neglect or some form of compromise.⁹⁶

According to Fuller religious union could not be achieved by dispensing with disagreeable truth or practice but must proceed on the basis of an actual union with Christ and an agreement as to the mind of Christ. Where there was no union in principles, no real unity of affection could exist, and no work would be accomplished for God. But Christians who were united with Christ, by grace through

⁹⁵E. Carey, Memoir of William Carey, D.D., p. 90.

⁹⁶Ibid., pp. 89-90.

faith, and with one another in principles and interest, had a two-fold ministry--namely, to one another and to the unsaved.⁹⁷

The ecumenical spirit was especially evident in the formation of the London Missionary Society, the Scottish societies, and the Netherlands Society, which were established by Christians of various denominations co-operating for the sole purpose of world evangelization. Furthermore, their influence on the Church and on the heathen world was inestimable. They set a remarkable example of Christian co-operation, but the early nineteenth century witnessed the growth of missionary societies more along denominational lines as Carey had originally suggested. Interdenominational action did not necessarily involve a certain indifference toward the idea of the Church, but because of the circumstances of the missionary awakening it did entail a lesser emphasis on the notion of the plantatio ecclesiae and a greater stress on the idea of individual salvation.⁹⁸ Throughout all the missionary societies the prevailing desire was for co-operation, but the evangelicals did not

⁹⁷Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Ecclesiastical Polity," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), pp. 847-848; Eddins, "Andrew Fuller's Theology of Grace," pp. 204-206.

⁹⁸Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 159.

favor uniformity. Rowland Hill was a supporter of the movement to combine the Church's missionary activity, but he was no advocate of uniformity. Concerning the differences that separated the denominations of his day, he said, "I do not wish such partitions destroyed, but only lowered a little, that we may shake hands a little easier over them."⁹⁹

Though the Baptists and Anglicans worked on a denominational basis, it did not follow that they were unco-operative. They did co-operate, not only in an earnest desire for the success of others, but also in prayer. It must be said of Carey that he recognized the value of ecumenical action. Serampore College in India, perhaps the greatest monument to his genius, under his direction was originally established to serve Christians of every denomination, and even today still operates on this same principle. In keeping with his ecumenical spirit, in 1805 Carey proposed the calling of a missionary conference for all Christians. Its purpose would be for stronger missions and better mutual understanding through sharing missionary experiences and common problems. The meeting was to be held at Capetown, South Africa, in 1810 but did not materialize because of insufficient support. However, the idea was not lost

⁹⁹Vernon J. Charlesworth, Rowland Hill; His Life, Anecdotes, and Pulpit Sayings (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1877), p. 60. Vide Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," p. 31.

because one hundred years later in 1910 such a meeting actually took place in Edinburgh, Scotland.¹⁰⁰ The World Missionary Conference, held in Edinburgh, became a landmark in the history of the Ecumenical Movement and profoundly influenced some of the most important developments of the next forty years or more. From the conferences of the Continuation Committee later emerged the International Missionary Council. The Edinburgh gathering was also partly responsible for the two organizations, the World Conference on Faith and Order and the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, which after 1914 merged to form the World Council of Churches.¹⁰¹

By way of summary, it should be mentioned that the evangelical doctrine of the Church was presented in an uninvolved and usually incomplete way, but always with reference to its missionary character. Moreover, the Church was instituted for calling the ends of the earth into one great Christian fellowship. And, because one could only become a member of the spiritual Church by faith in Christ, it was

¹⁰⁰George Smith, The Life of William Carey, D.D. (London: John Murray, 1885), pp. 377-410; Rouse and Neill (eds.), A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948, p. 312; J. Culross, "The Founders of Modern Missions--William Carey," The Northamptonshire Nonconformist, Vol. IX, No. 97, January, 1897, p. 3.

¹⁰¹Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), pp. 1343-1344.

necessary to send men called of the Holy Spirit to every quarter of the globe to preach His gospel, thus giving all men an opportunity to believe. God blessed the evangelicals' faith in organizing for missions by calling the men who would be sent abroad to preach the Word. Weaknesses and failures were not uncommon because of the human instruments involved, but to an ever-enlarging number it became increasingly clear that God was using the societies and their missionaries to win the heathen to Christ. They preached the Word in simplicity and again saw the blessing of God in heathen converts who heard the calling of God and were gathered into His Church. To the evangelicals the unmistakable leadership and blessing of God in the work of missions justified their labors and sacrifices and, even in the face of many discouragements, led them to persevere in what they believed and God demonstrated to be right.

Differing views were prevalent among the missionary evangelicals on the subject of ecclesiology. A surprising amount of unanimity may be found elsewhere, but concerning the Church and missions there were two distinct views of the line of action to be taken--the denominational and the interdenominational. Nevertheless, the spirit of the missionary awakening spread across denominational and even national boundaries because common characteristics, beliefs, and aims tended to draw together those who were committed to

the foreign mission cause and brought them all into varying degrees of co-operation to achieve this common objective.

CHAPTER V

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION OF MISSIONS

Eschatology was not a very powerful element in Latitudinarian theology, but early in the eighteenth century men like Isaac Watts, Robert Millar, and Philip Doddridge were transcending the period of Latitudinarianism by their evangelistic zeal and missionary concern. This spirit may be found in Watts' famous hymn, "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun does his successive journeys run . . .,"¹ which contains remarkable eschatological vision in a period when Christian hope played such a small role. With Millar the eschatological motive was more apocalyptic in character; as a special means in advancing the kingdom of Christ he saw the conversion of the heathen nations in direct relation to the conversion of the Jews. "After the conversion of the Jews, or about that time," he predicted, "there shall be a more generous and full conversion of the Gentiles than was ever before . . . and the time I hope is near."² A mild

¹The Church Hymnary, Authorized for Use in Public Worship by the Church of Scotland (revised edition; London: Oxford University Press, 1927), Hymn 388, p. 468.

²Robert Millar, The History of the Propagation of Christianity and Overthrow of Paganism (Edinburgh: John Mosman and Company, 1723), Vol. II, pp. 392-394.

eschatological expectation may also be found in Doddridge's rules for the missionary society that he attempted to establish at Nottingham in 1741. In these rules he wrote:

We do hereby express our desire, that some time may be then spent, if God give an opportunity, in reviewing those promises of Scripture, which relate to the establishment of our Redeemer's kingdom in the world; that our faith may be supported, and our prayers quickened, by the contemplation of them.³

Following the conversion of John Wesley and the beginning of the Evangelical Revival, the Methodists exhibited a vigorous evangelism, but their eschatology practically disappeared behind their soteriological interest. For the most part they were moderate millenarians, but their eschatological expectations appear to have played almost no part in the development of missionary ideals. The Methodists were so absorbed with the salvation of souls that they did not see the work of missions in the context of the drama of history. It was the German Pietists and the Moravians who were inspired by the thought that the coming kingdom of God was near at hand.⁴ However, the main eschatological impulse for the missionary awakening must be attributed to

³Geoffrey F. Nuttall, Philip Doddridge (London: Independent Press Ltd., 1951), p. 89; Johannes Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love (Kampen: J. H. Kok N. V., 1956), pp. 55, 65; Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), p. 827.

⁴Latourette, op. cit., pp. 827-828; Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 103.

the influence of Jonathan Edwards,⁵ who directed more attention to the coming kingdom among Protestant evangelicals than anyone else.

I. MISSIONARY PROPHECY

Just prior to and during the missionary awakening was a period of great expectation--events in world politics and exploration seemed to point toward the time when Jesus would reign from sea to sea. It was under this influence that Carey urged his colleagues to "expect great things from God, attempt great things for God,"⁶ which was an extension of Fuller's comment made a few years earlier when he said: "The Christian Church is encouraged to look for great things --to look for a time when the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."⁷

⁵Van Den Berg, op. cit., pp. 104, 160-161.

⁶George Smith, The Life of William Carey, Shoemaker and Missionary (Everyman's Library Edition; London: J. M. Dent & Co., [n.d.]), p. 37.

⁷Gilbert Laws, Andrew Fuller, Pastor, Theologian, Ropeholder (London: The Carey Press, 1942), p. 46. Both Rowland Hill and David Bogue later used this prophecy as a direct reference to missions; vide Rowland Hill, "Glorious Displays of Gospel Grace," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. 95; David Bogue, "Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. 158.

Sutcliffe's edition of Edwards' Humble Attempt to promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's people in Extraordinary Prayer and the subsequent Call to Prayer furnished the basis for the thoughts of Carey and Fuller on this subject, but it should be noted that they were moved by Edwards' spirit of expectancy and not by an acceptance of his eschatology. Neither the writings of Carey nor his work in India bear the imprint of Edwards' millenarianism. Thus, throughout the awakening and in the years that followed, the Baptist Missionary Society was able to carefully avoid the millenarian excesses that accompanied the missionary labors of others who were more strongly influenced by Edwards' eschatology.

As Carey soon learned, eschatological speculations were not always favorable to a correct reception of the missionary ideal. He had to refute the idea that the time for the conversion of the heathen had not yet come because certain prophecies had not been fulfilled.⁸ Carey pointed out the indiscretion of using prophecy to avoid the duty that Christ imposed by His commission. It was in this sense that Carey was careful "to insist on the obscurity of prophecy and hence the unwisdom of pressing particular

⁸William Carey, An Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens (Leicester: Ann Ireland Booksellers, 1792), p. 12.

interpretations of it."⁹ Instead of an escape Carey found the mission cause aided and reinforced by prophecy. For example, Carey believed that the invention of the mariner's compass had solved the problem of the remoteness of the heathen. Commerce, he was convinced, would be the vehicle for spreading the gospel. Scriptural prophecy seemed to indicate this method; in Isaiah 60:9 the way seemed to be implied: "Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first, to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold with them, unto the name of the Lord thy God." The ships of Tarshish, or commercial sea traffic, would be the means of carrying on God's work during the time of the glorious increase of the Church.¹⁰ The discovery of new lands opened new shipping lanes and sent hundreds of ships into newly charted seas. Carey saw this as the Bible plan of transportation in world evangelization. It is

⁹Ernest A. Payne, The Church Awakes (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1942), p. 74. Bogue, who was among the first of the founders of the L.M.S. to be influenced by Carey, later used this same argument against those who were confused about the millennium; vide Bogue, op. cit., pp. 12 ff. Among the Scottish Moderates the expectation of far-off things became a substitute for immediate missionary action; vide G. Hamilton's proposal to await patiently the period of the propagation of the gospel at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1796, Robert Heron [ed.], "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796" (Edinburgh: Alex. Lawrie, 1796), p. 19.

¹⁰Carey, op. cit., p. 68.

interesting to note that the missionary ship, Duff, of the London Missionary Society, was also used as a cargo vessel, and that later two other great missionaries, John Campbell and David Livingstone, shared this view with Carey.¹¹

Andrew Fuller also found that missions to the heathen appeared to be an object worthy of a place in prophecy and had engaged the attention of a larger portion of the Christian Church and excited more earnest prayer and exertion than perhaps anything since the Reformation.¹² His mature reflections on the relationship of prophecy to missions were based upon Revelation 14:6-7:

And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.

This prophecy contained four characteristics, which according to Fuller were "inapplicable to the evangelical labours of the reformers, but which are all applicable to the

¹¹Cf. John Campbell, Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions (London: John Snow, 1840), passim; William Monk (ed.), Dr. Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures (second edition; London: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1860), passim. Melville Horne also held this view; vide Horne, Letters on Missions (Andover: Flagg and Gould, 1815), pp. 171-175.

¹²Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "Expository Discourses on the Apocalypse," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), p. 466, col. 2.

attempts to evangelize the heathen."¹³

1. The message was sent not only to the nations of Europe but to every nation.

2. The message itself seemed to indicate that these people had only read the book of nature and had not learned from it so much as who the Creator was.

3. It was supposed that when the spread of the gospel was attempted with a humble dependence upon God, difficulties which appeared insuperable would subside. When the work was begun in the name of Christ it could no more be arrested than the flight of an angel in the midst of heaven.

4. The message addressed to the nations was a solemn one: "the hour of his judgment has come!" In this prophecy judgment drew near in its most extended form and resembled the first announcement of the gospel: "Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Those nations and peoples who would not bow to Him would be destroyed.¹⁴

Prophecy also contained the assurance that missions would be effectual insofar as the work was accompanied by "fervent and united prayer."¹⁵ From the prophet Zechariah Carey found that the destruction of false religion would follow "upon a Spirit of grace, and supplication."¹⁶

¹³Ibid., p. 466, col. 1. ¹⁴Ibid., pp. 466-467.

¹⁵Carey, op. cit., p. 77.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 78; Zechariah 12:10-14; 13:1-6.

When Christians become universally united in prayer and wholly dedicated to Christ's kingdom, many evidences of the Spirit's presence will be seen within the churches. The presence of the Spirit, like a fountain, shall not only cleanse the servants of the Lord but also root out all idolatrous prejudices and false teachings in order that truth might prevail. "The most glorious works of grace . . . have been in answer to prayer," declared Carey, "and it is in this way, we have the greatest reason to suppose, that the glorious out-pouring of the Spirit, which we expect at last, will be bestowed."¹⁷

II. THE APPROACHING MILLENNIUM

The caution with which Carey and other missionary leaders approached the subject of eschatology was soon almost obscured by imminent millenarianⁿ expectations and occasionally by an almost naive enthusiasm^a on the part of others of the missionary awakening. The idea that mankind was standing on the threshold of the millennial period was especially strong in the circle of the London Missionary Society. In spite of the experiences of Carey and Bogue with unfavorable eschatological speculations, many believed that millenarianism worked in favor of missions. A new

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 78-79.

enthusiasm took possession of a large number of evangelicals all over Britain who saw in the incipient missionary work one of the most important signs of the dawn of the millennium.¹⁸ Much of this enthusiasm may be attributed directly to Edwards and eschatological teachings similar to his, but a certain amount may be ascribed to the founding of the London Missionary Society, which had been compared to a new Pentecost.¹⁹ This helped to create an air of expectancy, not only within that Society, but also in those who followed the example of the London Society in matters of organization.

While Methodist leaders and others of the Evangelical Revival were not especially concerned about the chronology of the coming events, Jonathan Edwards of the Great Awakening thought to discern the signals of the approaching kingdom. It was said of him that he "brought the people to the very threshold of the millennium, and he was obviously intoxicated with the prospect."²⁰ Edwards saw in the results of Brainerd's work and that of other missionaries

¹⁸Payne, The Church Awakes, p. 74; Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 160-161.

¹⁹John Eyre (ed.), "Religious Intelligence," The Evangelical Magazine (London: T. Chapman, October, 1795), p. 425.

²⁰Perry Miller, Jonathan Edwards (New York: William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1949), p. 318.

among the American Indians a sign of the approach of the "days of mercy."²¹ He proclaimed his ideas with such certainty and fervency that he made a deep impression not only on American theology but also on Scottish and English as well.²² Eschatology became a definite factor in the missionary awakening, and the time of passive waiting was superseded by a period of new activity as the missionary ideal was borne along by fervent expectations.

An important connection existed between the missionary awakening and the eschatological expectations of the group in which the awakening had its beginning. During a period in which many evangelicals appeared to distinguish the first signs of the final break-through of Christ's kingdom, they were more inclined than ever to accompany their prayers with active missionary work. With the exception of Melville Horne,²³ it is a remarkable fact that the men who

²¹J. Edwards, Works (London: 1817), Vol. II, p. 481, cited by Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 104-105; Latourette, A History of Christianity, pp. 957-961.

²²Cf. ante pp. 32-36.

²³Horne found a direct stimulus to missionary action in the expectation of the coming kingdom. Together with Carey and Bogue he also had to oppose the thought that the time for missions had not yet come because of certain prophecies which had not been fulfilled, but in addition to Christ's command he discovered numerous considerations from prophecy that would excite them "to more than apostolic labors." Letters on Missions, pp. 41, 146, et al.

formed the Church Missionary Society made only the slightest allusions to the coming of the millennium. In this respect the commencement of missions among the Anglicans had much in common with that of the Baptists. However, in the London and Scottish Societies, many spoke out boldly on the subject.

Thomas Haweis supported the mission imperative with definite teachings on the millennium and is numbered with many good men who saw through the gloom and disaster of that day to the coming of a brighter day. The dispensations of Providence appeared obvious to him and foretold some wondrous change approaching. Haweis did not presume to determine whether or not it would come in his lifetime,²⁴ but in a sermon preached at the formation of the London Missionary Society, he said with certainty: "We know the time approaches when Ethiopia and Saba shall stretch out their hands unto God."²⁵

²⁴In a pamphlet Haweis wrote: "Whether, brethren, your eyes or mine shall behold the mountain of the Lord's house exalted on the top of the mountains, and the nations flowing into it, I decide not; but I am sure that every gracious heart longs for the fulfilment of the promise and the prophecy, labours in his vocation and calling to advance the kingdom of God and of his Christ, and cries to Him who hath the residue of the Spirit to hasten it in his time." Thomas Haweis, "A Word In Season" (London: T. Chapman, 1796), p. 14.

²⁵Thomas Haweis, "The Apostolic Commission," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), p. 22.

In the same series of meetings, at the founding of the London Society, George Burder revealed a general apprehension that the Lord was about to produce some great event. The late eighteenth century was a period of astonishing upheaval. Could God be severely shaking the nations in order to establish His extensive spiritual kingdom, which could not be shaken? Burder indulged the hope "that the happy period is approaching, when the Redeemer shall take unto Him His great power and reign."²⁶

Among the Scottish missionary evangelicals even the sober historian, Robert Heron, during the General Assembly of 1796, remarked: "Prophecy, in clear language and at various periods, has predicted the conversion of the Gentile Nations."²⁷ He, too, saw a relationship between the fulfillment of these prophecies and the current awakening to missions.²⁸ John Erskine as a student had written of "The

²⁶Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895 (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), Vol. I, p. 21. Vide Alexander Waugh, "Messiah, The Sun of Righteousness" (London: T. Gillet, 1800), pp. 1-27; John Hey, "The Fulness of Times," Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society (London: T. Chapman, 1795), pp. 88-90; Joseph Hardcastle, Memoir of Joseph Hardcastle, Esq. (London: Alex. Macintosh, 1860), pp. 152-155, 234-235.

²⁷Heron [ed.], "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796," p. 14.

²⁸Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 162-163.

Signs of the Times," in which he expressed the belief that in the Cambuslang Revival "some indications of the predicted glory of the latter days might be found."²⁹ Many years later in 1798 he wrote:

Let none employed in preaching the gospel, despair of success. . . . The happy day shall dawn, when in every corner of the earth, Christ shall be preached to the Gentiles, and believed in the world.³⁰

But to all such views concerning "the commencement of the Millennium, or that Aera when all the nations of the earth shall have received the gospel," Bogue cautioned, "I beg you to consider that in aiming to propagate the gospel, we are to be guided by what God enjoins as a duty, not by what he delivered as a prediction."³¹ Though the missionary evangelicals saw all too clearly the dismalness of their present situation, it did not lead them to despair but rather to the

²⁹Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, Account of the Life and Writings of John Erskine, D.D. (Edinburgh: George Ramsay and Company, 1818), pp. 125-126.

³⁰John Erskine, Discourses Preached on Several Occasions (Edinburgh: n.n., 1798), pp. 425-428; vide a "Letter of the Edinburgh Missionary Society," in the Appendix of Heron's "Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May 1796," p. 68; Gavin Struthers, The History of the Rise, Progress, and Principles of the Relief Church (Glasgow: A. Fullarton and Co., 1843), p. 419.

³¹Bogue, "Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," p. 126; Bogue agreed, "the time is come, the time that the house of the Lord should be built," but this was true whether the millennium was near at hand or still far in the future. P. 123.

great assurance that the time was coming when God would destroy pagan idolatry, Mohammedanism, corrupt Romanism, and all the many "Antichrists" by means of their faithful proclamation of His truth.³²

III. PREPARATION FOR THE COMING KINGDOM

The millennium itself was visualized by the men of missions as a period in which the spiritual dominion of Christ would spread over all the earth. With the development of this millenarian concept, however, the relation between eschatology and missions became more complex and was seen in three different ways: First, missionary activity was viewed as a sign of the approach of the millennium; Second, missions was also considered as a preparation for the millennium; Third, the events that were supposed to announce the breaking of the millennial age in turn became a stimulus for more vigorous missionary activity.³³ The first of these relationships has been dealt with in Section II above. The second, missionary work as a preparation for the

³²Greville Ewing, "A Defence of Missions" (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, 1797), pp. 33, 101. Vide Horne, Letters on Missions, pp. 41, 145; Robert Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," Sermons on Interesting Subjects (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1819), pp. 112, 133; Robert Balfour, "Heaven and Earth Reconciled by the Mediation of Christ," Sermons on Interesting Subjects (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle, 1819), pp. 112, 178-179, 189.

³³Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, p. 183.

millennium, will be considered here.

The last and greatest aspect of that grace which shall be to all believers is an abundant entrance into God's everlasting kingdom.³⁴ Carey drew attention to this fact in the conclusion of his Enquiry . . . and indicated that mission work provided the best preparation for the coming kingdom. In Matthew 6:20 Jesus exhorted men to "lay up . . . treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal," and Paul declared that "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." (Galatians 6:7) To Carey these verses, which concerned the enjoyments of the life to come, were closely related to the present situation--a relation similar to that of sowing and harvesting. Carey wrote:

It is true all the reward is of mere grace, but it is nevertheless encouraging; what a treasure, what an harvest must await such characters as Paul, and Elliot, and Brainerd, and others who have given themselves wholly to the work of the Lord. What a heaven will it be to see the many myriads of poor heathens, of Britons amongst the rest, who by their labours have been brought to the knowledge of God. Surely a crown of rejoicing like this is worth aspiring to. Surely it is worth while to lay ourselves out with all our might, in promoting the cause, and kingdom of Christ.³⁵

As John Venn understood it, Christ promised the

³⁴Andrew Gunton Fuller (comp.), "The Gospel Its Own Witness," The Complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller (London: G. and J. Dyer, 1845), pp. 43-44.

³⁵Carey, Enquiry..., pp. 86-87.

eternal pleasures of heaven to His followers throughout the world and in all ages, but the qualifications for the enjoyment of heaven must be acquired on earth. Since a redeemed sinner's treasure was above, he would live as a pilgrim and stranger on earth unoccupied with the things of the world, but filled with a zeal for purity of heart. Holiness was not the foundation of his claim to immortality but was the seal of God's Spirit preparing man for heaven.³⁶ The foundation for this promise of heaven, explained Horne to the natives of Africa, was belief in Christ, who had come into the world to bless those who would repent of their evil ways and receive His Spirit. Such redeeming action would "make their hearts good again"³⁷ and would provide the only assurance that they would go to heaven.

The work of propagating the gospel among all the world's inhabitants, according to Ewing, was the only thing that delayed the second coming of Christ. "The world itself is kept in existence," he declared, "that missionaries may finish their appointed course."³⁸ With this assurance the

³⁶John Venn, Sermons (London: J. Hatchard, 1814), Vol. II, pp. 256-262.

³⁷Melville Horne, "A Sermon," The Baptist Annual Register, 1794-1797 (London: Dilly, Button, and Thomas, 1794-1797), p. 252.

³⁸"This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come." Matthew 24:14. Ewing, "A Defence of Missions," pp. 52-53. For similar references, vide Hill,

evangelicals believed their mission work was justified; for if heaven is promised to those whose lives are purified through regeneration, and if the return of Jesus to receive such ones into heaven is being stayed till the gospel message is proclaimed throughout the world, then the work must be undertaken with great vigor in order that "all the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord."³⁹ Then even the "heathen shall say, 'Amen. Even so come Lord Jesus.'"⁴⁰

A direct and important relation existed between the eschatological expectations and the missionary enthusiasm among the supporters of missions, which was especially evident among those of the London Society and the societies closely affiliated with it. The missionary leaders appealed to scriptural promises in their missionary propaganda, because "every promise is a call and a motive to enter on the service without delay."⁴¹ It must be added, however,

"Glorious Displays of Gospel Grace," pp. 112 ff; Hey, "The Fulness of Times," pp. 86 ff; Bogue, "Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered," p. 158.

³⁹Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," p. 136; Revelation 11:15.

⁴⁰Balfour, "The Salvation of the Heathen Necessary and Certain," p. 150; Revelation 22:20.

⁴¹David Bogue, "To the Evangelical Dissenters who practice Infant Baptism," The Evangelical Magazine (London: T. Chapman, September, 1794), p. 380.

that all but the most extravagant millenarians expected the kingdom to come in a gradual way, and that few indeed dared to speculate on the exact time of the coming of the millennium. Even though some of the roots of the eschatological optimism of the nineteenth century may be found in the mild millenarianism of the eighteenth century awakening, it is hardly possible to compare the eschatology of this period with that of the mid-nineteenth century when the subject received its fullest and most important treatment. Moreover, the eschatological motive was never the exclusive stimulus to missionary action, and scarcely would have proved a sufficient justification in itself. Actually, eschatology was usually never more than an assurance of success in evangelical missions, and with but few exceptions was totally subjected to soteriological interests. Even when it was generally felt that the millennium was still far away, the duty to evangelize the heathen remained unaltered in the evangelicals' view.⁴²

Missionary action was necessary, not only because there were perishing souls to be saved or because

⁴²David Bogue, Discourses on the Millennium (London: T. Hamilton, 1818), pp. 521-527, 606; Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love, pp. 162, 183; James Bennett, Memoirs of the Life of The Rev. David Bogue, D.D. (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1827), p. 156.

preparation had to be made for the coming of the kingdom, but also because the Church in which the kingdom was partly made manifest had to expand to the ends of the earth, which would precede the Second Advent of Christ. In this sense missions announced, prepared, and hastened the millennium. Hence, the third relationship between eschatology and missions is evident--events that were accepted as signs of the approaching millennium were in themselves stimuli for earnest missionary endeavor.⁴³

These ideas of the relationship between missions and the kingdom were not new. Calvin taught that the walls of world history were kept apart by the preaching of the gospel,⁴⁴ which partly explains why the influence of Jonathan Edwards' millenarianism spread so rapidly in Calvinistic circles of the eighteenth century. The signs of the times appeared to point in the direction of great eschatological events; God was opening the door for the conversion of the Gentiles, and the door would not be closed until the mission was sufficiently accomplished.

One may see in Edwards and in those missionary evangelicals whom he influenced just another group of men who

⁴³Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 184.

⁴⁴J. C. Hoekendijk, Kerk en Volk in de Duitse Zendingswetenschap, s.l., 1948, p. 223, cited by Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 182.

misused Biblical prophecy and misunderstood their own times, but it is doubtful that this represents an accurate appraisal of their eschatology. In defense of those who were as extreme as Edwards himself, it may be said that miscalculations of this nature can be found all through Christian history, starting with the New Testament. This shows no irreverence to the apostles, since one of them himself said that "we know in part, and we prophesy in part. . . . we see through a glass, darkly."⁴⁵ In considering the future, what did Edwards see? What did these missionary evangelicals see? The point to be made is this: Regardless of how radical or conservative they were on the subject of eschatology, they saw God at work in His world moving forward to the fulfillment of His great purposes.⁴⁶ Therefore, in spite of some extravagance, eschatology must be viewed as an important justification of the missionary awakening.

⁴⁵I Corinthians 13:9,12.

⁴⁶Thus, the writings of Jonathan Edwards were not only prophetic of the missionary awakening, but were also a significant factor in the progress toward it. John Foster, "The Bicentenary of Jonathan Edwards' 'Humble Attempt,'" The International Review of Missions (London: Edinburgh House, 1948), Vol. 37, pp. 380-381.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND CRITIQUE

In the preface it was noted that the world-wide nature of the Church in this generation had its beginning in the origin of the modern missionary movement. The writer proposed to demonstrate that missionary action of the awakening was justified from a theological standpoint since it was the evangelical doctrines of the first men of modern missions that provided the theological basis and the spiritual dynamic for the missionary movement. He believes his delineation of their views on the subject has met the original proposal. But another question remains to be answered. From a theological point of view, how does their action compare to theology since their time and to the Divine Will revealed in the Bible?

In answering the question above it must be recognized that the purpose of this study has been to disentangle the various factors that contributed to the justification of missionary action from the complex background of the awakening. These factors have been grouped in a systematic way according to basic characteristics. This method of treatment has required that each factor be dealt with separately, but the writer has been fully aware that the distinctions which

have been made in Part II sometimes forced an artificial separation between theological subjects essentially belonging together. Therefore, this concluding critique will be made in conjunction with a recapitulation in order that these theological divisions may be seen and evaluated in their integral relationship.

When the different aspects of missionary justification are viewed as a unity, three steps in the growth of the movement clearly emerge. First, the origin of the missionary awakening will be seen in the revival of soteriological zeal among British evangelicals of the late eighteenth century. Secondly, man's universal need of salvation soon drew their attention to Christ's long neglected commission, and with a renewed allegiance to God there also came a more complete dedication to the service of fellow men. Thirdly, the evangelicals' world outlook opened new avenues for the growth of the Church and consequently led to ideas surrounding the great events that precede the second coming of Christ.

At the root of all sound missionary thinking and action is soteriology. When missions proceed on the basis of what one group of men can do for another group of men instead of what God has done for all men, then the way is opened for numerous errors. It was the fear of making such errors that drove the evangelicals to the position of

narrow exclusiveness in their missionary endeavor. For them any deviation from the central theme of Christ crucified for the sins of the world was to be avoided at all costs. Opposition to this view came from those whose senses had been dulled by eighteenth century Rationalism or by the progressive overaccentuation of the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. The opposition or indifference of these groups to missions was based more on suspicion than on questions of soteriology. They mistrusted the zeal and enthusiasm with which the evangelicals undertook the task of winning the lost. And though the evangelicals composed only a small minority during the missionary awakening, throughout the nineteenth century the prevailing opinion within Protestantism favored foreign evangelical missions. Even today the extensive and expanding program of missions among Protestants still testifies to the validity of the original stand taken on the question of missions.

Carey and Fuller had a more realistic and vital place in their thought for the person and work of Christ because of the emphasis they placed on the sovereign grace of God revealed through the cross of Jesus Christ, instead of on sovereign predestination before the foundation of the world. Carey and the many other men of missions held the scriptural enjoiner "repent ye, and believe the gospel" (Mark 1:15) to be central, because man's depravity had resulted from a

perverted will, and escape from this predicament could come only by the grace of God. Christ's condescension revealed the God of holy-love and showed Him to be a God of grace who seeks to reclaim His rebellious creatures that they might perform the function for which they were originally designed --namely, the glorification of their Creator.¹ The evangelicals found that the Bible abounded with instructions to "declare his glory among the heathen; his marvellous works among all nations."²

The men of the missionary awakening were from a background of eighteenth century Evangelicalism that strongly emphasized personal faith and individual salvation. However, in their attempts to evangelize "the face of the earth"³ can be seen a certain resistance toward the narrowing of their message to the territory of the soul. They were not always successful in this, but they did take seriously the idea of the dominion of Christ over the totality of life.

¹John W. Eddins, Jr., "Andrew Fuller's Theology of Grace" (unpublished dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1957), p. 254.

²I Chronicles 16:24; see also Isaiah 66:19; Isaiah 54:2-3; Jonah 3:1-10; Acts 1:8; Luke 24:47; Acts 13:1-4 ff.; Acts 13:46-49; et al.

³Acts 17:26; Johannes Van Den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love (Kampen: J. H. Kok N. V., 1956), p. 191.

The Old Testament knows of no salvation for the soul alone; the prophets of Israel had the great vision of an "earth . . . filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord." (Habakkuk 2:14) The fulfillment of their Messianic prophecies was realized in the incarnation of the Messiah, which shows that He came to redeem the world in the most basic form of its existence--"the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." (John 1:14) His crucifixion and resurrection mean not only the liberation of the inner nature of human life but the redemption of life in all its fullness. From this it follows that missionary action, whether of the awakening or of any period down to the present, which lies in the sphere of the salvation of individual souls, cannot be altogether justified. The Christian missionary must be motivated by the desire to bring the life of man in the complex totality of his existence under the royal dominion of Christ. On the other hand, when political and cultural considerations are given priority over the primary soteriological passion, then the missionary is threatened with losing sight of the fact that the dominion of Christ has its beginning in the heart of man who is liberated by the grace of Jesus.⁴

The second step that we observe in the development of

⁴Van Den Berg, op. cit., pp. 191, 193.

the missionary movement--viz., a recognition of the commands involving world evangelization and loving concern for all men, follows directly on the revival of soteriological interests and is integrally related to this first step. After the Reformation the theocentric principle became a mighty stimulus to Protestant dedication and activity in many different spheres of life, especially within Calvinistic circles. This same factor must be taken into consideration regarding the matter of obedience to Christ's commission as the question was raised during the awakening. It is closely related to the theocentric principle because obedience is one of the central forms in which the glorification of God is realized. In early missionary circles the object of the evangelicals' devotion and action was the sovereign God. They stood under the marching orders of Christ given in the form of the Great Commission (Matthew 28:19-20), which they accepted as the authentic testimony of their risen Lord. When Carey insisted on the duty of evangelizing the heathen because of the obligation Christians live under with respect to obedience to the Lord's command, he was only expressing the practical missionary application of the theocentric principle.

There is also a negative aspect to this matter of obedience. When the missionary task is reduced to a cool, formal obedience, it is drawn within the legalistic sphere

that threatens to extinguish the joy and gladness necessary for a correct functioning of the missionary ideal. With Carey and his contemporaries it never possessed the connotation of legalism, but rather entailed a joyful affirmation of Christ's command. During the awakening period the fires of enthusiasm burned so brightly that there was no place for the legalistic approach to the missionary task.⁵

At the same time it is clear that obedience to the Lord's commission is also closely related to Christ's concept of love. In this context it may be spoken of as "joyful obedience."⁶ But, on the other hand, there is something of the ascetic idea involved, for the Bible teaches that obedience includes the enduring of hardness "as a good soldier of Jesus Christ" (II Timothy 2:3), as Carey points out in his Enquiry⁷ Obedience without love is answerable to the Pauline indictment: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." (I Corinthians 13:1)

⁵Ibid., pp. 178, 199.

⁶E. Jansen Schoonhoven, Critische Bespreking van erige Zendingsmotieven, N. Th. T. V. (1950-1951), p. 222, cited by Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 200.

⁷William Carey, An Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens (Leicester: Ann Ireland Booksellers, 1792), p. 72.

In the early history of the missionary awakening two aspects of love received special attention. First, love was seen as an inner attitude engendered by the knowledge of the love of God in Christ, to which love in the heart of man was nothing more than a grateful response. Above all else, the object of this love was God. In the New Testament love is seen in its relation to the source of love as a direct continuation of the love of God in Christ. This is the love that "is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost," (Romans 5:5) and of which it may be said, "the love of Christ constraineth us." (II Corinthians 5:14) But love toward God is given form and actuality, not only in the direct contact with God in prayer and worship, but also in love toward men--that is, toward neighbor, through whom God presents to Christians the opportunity of service. The work of missions receives a place in the movement of love toward the world just as the sending of the Son proceeds from God's love. (John 3:16) The fact that men are sent out into the world finds its deepest justification in the impelling love of Christ. Thus, missionaries bring the most central point of human existence into contact with Christ's redeeming love and therefore become the instruments of God in the most important deed of love--the saving of souls, which emphasizes the strong soteriological element in this aspect of

love.⁸

Unfortunately, missionary activity of the awakening did not quite escape the danger of an anthropocentric attitude with regard to the idea of love. The negative view of love may be seen in a certain humanization of the idea of compassion. The shifting of the emphasis from the depth of God's love to the depth of fallen man's pitiable state--from salvation to benevolence--was a real danger to the urgency of the missionary appeal. Whenever Latitudinarian and Erasmian principles predominated and the spread of European culture moved to the forefront in the field of missionary activity, the evangelical nature of missions was altered at the expense of a definite weakening of soteriological interests. The deficiencies of this form of missionary action are easily seen: first, in missionary work that has its foundation shifted from God to man, and secondly, in the way the consciousness of solidarity with the heathen world recedes into the background.⁹

A certain amount of the anthropocentric element, however, does have a legitimate place in the work of Christian missions. But it must be seen in its correlation with and dependence on the theocentric principle--that is, not man in

⁸Van Den Berg, op. cit., pp. 172, 195-197.

⁹Ibid., pp. 175, 190, 194-195.

himself, but man seen through the eyes of God, as revealed in the Bible. Man standing in need of divine forgiveness should move Christians to that love which is the presupposition of all missionary work. When Jesus "saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted" (Matthew 9:36); if the heathen are loved because they are the object of Christ's love, then much of the anthropocentric element is transcended and Christians are brought to the knowledge of a new solidarity with all races of men: "For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by his grace. . . . Where is boasting then? It is excluded." (Romans 3:23-24, 27) Even the humanitarian ideals of the Latitudinarians had at least this positive value: they confront Christians with the duty of being concerned with life in its wholeness--the duty of demonstrating that the God whom the Church preaches is also the God of politics, culture, and social life. However, in the period of the great missionary awakening the humanitarian aspect of the idea of love was neither denied nor neglected, but for a large majority it was seen as no more than a corollary of the dominant soteriological interest.¹⁰

¹⁰H. Kraemer, The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1938), pp. 427-441; Van Den Berg, op. cit., pp. 175, 192, 196, 211.

Without love the work of missions becomes sterile and impersonal, but love can only function in the right way if it is integrated with a number of other factors. Only theocratic interests can save the activity of love from a narrowing of the missionary task to problems of the soul alone. Then, too, obedience must be thought of in connection with love in order to save it from the instability of an emotional attitude. There is a duty of love that gives to missions its stable character.¹¹ The ecclesiological concern brings love out of the sphere of individualism because the Church is the fellowship of love that participates in the full love of God through Christ.¹² This gives to the idea of love its great breadth. It is an act of the body of Christ, inasmuch as it is through love that man is brought into communion with the corporate expression of the love of Christ on earth.¹³

The third step seen in the developing character of the missionary awakening concerns the nature of the Church

¹¹Niels F. S. Ferré, "Fear, Duty and Love as Ultimate Motives for Christian Missions," The International Review of Missions, Vol. XXXVII (London: Edinburgh House, 1948), p. 397.

¹²T. F. Torrance, "Royal Priesthood," Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers No. 3 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd Ltd., 1955), p. 30.

¹³Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 198.

and its connection with the kingdom of God. From the first two steps it follows that salvation involves man's relationship to God and to mankind. Redeemed man's status in God's sight is shared through Christ in the fellowship of His body; thus, man exists in the Church in a new relationship to other men who have this new status in Christ.¹⁴ The evangelicals saw a new humanity being constituted as men were conformed to the image of God in Christ and were therefore joined to other men of the community of the redeemed.¹⁵

As already noted, the men of the missionary awakening often relied upon early Christian practice for their example in the evangelical ministry and in missions. They found that the primitive Church felt the impulse of expansion, not only from the soteriological implications of Christ's commandment, but also from its character as a universal community, the essence of whose nature it was to expand to the ends of the earth.¹⁶ Only the rudiments of this view may be found during the awakening, and not until recent years has the subject been given its fullest expression; nevertheless,

¹⁴Torrance, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁵Eddins, "Andrew Fuller's Theology of Grace," pp. 258-259.

¹⁶G. W. H. Lampe, "Early Patristic Eschatology," Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers No. 2 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd Ltd., [1952/), pp. 17-35.

missions of the late eighteenth century was significantly justified by the nature of the Church, which implied expansion.¹⁷ Ecclesiological interests obviously have a negative aspect in that they are always in danger of making missions a means to augment the earthly glory of the Church --a danger that becomes reality when missions is considered as plantatio ecclesiae and nothing more.¹⁸ However, it cannot be denied that the plantation of the Church is an integral part of missionary work, but to be understood in the Biblical sense, it must be purified from two opposite tendencies--hyper-denominationalism on the one hand and a spiritualism that results in complete anti-institutionalism on the other. The Church must take visible form in order to testify to the fact that the kingdom of God is well entrenched in the world. At this point the greatest limitation of the ecclesiological factor becomes evident: the Church in itself is not important; her only meaning lies in the fact that she is the instrument of Christ. The ecclesiological justification cannot be isolated because the Church can never be a terminus in itself. Above all, the concept must be integrated with the eschatological factor. During the awakening it was again realized that missions has a

¹⁷Van Den Berg, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 205.

place in the period between the resurrection of Jesus and His second coming; consequently, in the eschatological tension of this interim period lies one of the most important elements in the justification of missionary action.¹⁹

The most obvious point of contact between eschatology and missions is found in Matthew 24:14 in which missions was seen as one of the signa praecursoria. The Reformers were the ones who rediscovered the distance between the Church and the kingdom of God. The Church of the sixteenth century lost something of its massive institutional character with the renewed consciousness of its interim nature, which later contributed to the dynamism of the missionary movement and led to the conclusion that the expansion of the Church was no goal in itself. Rather, it was the means of attaining a greater end--namely, a fuller realization of the dominion of Christ.²⁰

Ecclesiological and eschatological interests must be integrated in missionary activity. History reveals that a heavy stress on the expansion of the empirical Church is not always accompanied by a glowing eschatological expectancy, while on the other hand a fervent eschatology sometimes

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 205-207.

²⁰Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), pp. 756-757.

excludes any idea of the steady and continuous expansion of the Christian Church.²¹ It seems remarkable that in the development of British missionary life in the late eighteenth century are the evidences of both deviations. The idea of a very gradual approach of the millennium could lead to a form of missionary work that was so much determined by the thought of a continuous process in history as to lose the eschatological tension, whereas the apocalyptic element could be so overemphasized as to lead to an Adventist type of missions. The first type was in danger of neglecting the note of urgency in the missionary proclamation, while the second was not always patient enough to build a more lasting type of mission. Many faults can be found with missionary eschatology of the awakening, but it did render a valuable service to the Church by opening the eyes of Christians to the problems that surround the doctrine of last things as it relates to missions.²²

Evangelicals around 1800 were not discouraged from missions by the events of the times, but rather these events proved to have a stimulating effect. This no doubt resulted from the fact that they were seen in the light of God's promises as His way of unfolding His plan in the world.

²¹Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 184.

²²Ibid., pp. 184, 208-209.

The words of Jesus spoken after He had given the commission, "I, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (Matthew 28:20), were especially invigorating. It was eschatology that helped simple evangelicals think in terms of "the ends of the earth."²³

The expectation of the coming kingdom gives to the missionary Church the assurance of victory. Carey urged the men of his day to pray "Thy kingdom come" that they might see God fulfilling their prayer through their work; this was the solid background of Carey's saying: "Expect great things from God."²⁴ Without the eschatological emphasis the other factors of missionary justification are powerless. Obedience without expectance lacks the stimulus that the promised great consummation is able to exert in missionary endeavor. It is also the recognition of the imminent coming of Christ that gives the subject of love its deep sense of urgency--"If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maranatha."²⁵ Then, too, eschatology reminds the Church that she can never rest in her own existence, but must bring all of life into a new unity with Christ and thus

²³Ibid., pp. 209-210.

²⁴Carey, Enquiry..., p. 3.

²⁵I Corinthians 16:22; Kraemer, The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World, pp. 417-418.

give evidence of the realization of the vision that inspired the psalmist to say: "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea. . . . Let the whole earth be filled with his glory."²⁶

Protests have been made against a foundation of mission work on anything other than the commands and the will of God as revealed in Jesus. To be mentioned here is K. Barth, who subjected all secondary considerations to his vigorous theological criticism.²⁷ W. Holsten's doctrine of missions is composed primarily of a criticism of the anthropocentric attitude in missions based upon his view of the Pauline kerygma.²⁸ Doubtless, these criticisms are necessary and valuable as a correction of missionary thinking in which man threatens to occupy the central place. For example, H. Kraemer refers to H. V. White's Theology for Christian Missions in which missions is repeatedly defined as "man-centered." White saw the essence of Christian missions as a "service to man in all his needs."²⁹

²⁶Psalms 72:8,19; Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 193.

²⁷Karl Barth, Die Theologie und die Mission in der Gegenwart, Zwischen den Zeiten X (1932), SS. 203-205, cited by Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 210.

²⁸Walter Holsten, Das Kerygma und der Mensch (München, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1953), passim.

²⁹Kraemer, op. cit., pp. 431-433.

Ultimately, missions finds its source and justification only in the heart of God, but this does not exclude secondary considerations. On the contrary, the factors that motivated and justified missions are contained in the great concern of God, who loved the world in all of its need and misery and gave His Son in order to heal the brokenness of man's existence. In Jesus all these factors are one because God is one and reveals His heart in Jesus. His glory is in the salvation of men; His love for man is the basis for creating a new earth populated by those who respond with love for Him; through His sacrifice He has saved the world and therefore has the right to ask for obedience; He continues His healing ministry in the world through His body--the Church--until all nations have heard the message of His love; He is the coming Lord who is Himself the guarantee of His great promise: "I will come again, and receive you unto myself." (John 14:3) The more Christians are conscious of their deep unity with Christ, the more these separate components fuse themselves into the one comprehensive explanation of missionary action--it is the normal relation of every disciple to his Lord Jesus Christ.³⁰

The missionary awakening resulted from the coincidence of a number of elements, which together account for

³⁰Van Den Berg, op. cit., p. 211.

the great events of this period. However, the awakening cannot be ascribed to a fortuitous combination of various disparate factors, but rather to their mutual correlation and integration as described in the three steps above. Factors either latently or openly present over a period of many years grew stronger by being blended with each other and at last gave rise to the impulses that led to the revival of the missionary ideal. Moreover, if the theological emphasis is to be properly understood and evaluated, then the relationship between the outward circumstances and the inner motives must be taken into account. The development of new territories brought "the ends of the earth" within the circle of common interest; the events of the French Revolution added greatly to the revival of the eschatological tension; even Romantic ideals served a useful purpose in helping to break through the general apathy concerning the fate of lands and peoples that lay outside the bounds of immediate knowledge.³¹ The theological justification of missions was inseparably related to the current historical situation; closely associated with this and illustrated repeatedly in the story of missionary origins was the vast significance of individual influence. Who can estimate all that the little-known life of William

³¹Ibid., pp. 186-187.

Carey meant in the purposes of God? Who can assess the value of evangelical theologians such as Fuller, Erskine, Edwards, Simeon, and others to the cause of missions? A deep insight into the rise of modern foreign missions was reflected in Fuller's remark to Chalmers regarding the tremendous "importance that may attach to a single mind receiving an evangelical impression."³² At the end of this survey it is concluded that no one single factor can explain the growth of missions. It was through the fullness of many considerations that the Church returned to its primary task: the proclamation of the gospel of Christ over all the earth.

³²E. A. Payne, "The Evangelical Revival and the Beginnings of the Modern Missionary Movement," The Congregational Quarterly, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (London: Independent Press Limited, July, 1943), pp. 235-236.

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